Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-172
Tuesday
6 September 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-172 CONTENTS *6 September 1988*

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

U.S. Position on ABM 'Obstacle' to Progress 1
Work Continues at Geneva Arms Talks 1
Talks Focus on Verification 1
U.S., France Hamper Progress 2
Conventional Arms Talks Resume in Vienna 3
Means for Missile Destruction Described 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Press Briefing 4
Praises USSR-PRC Talks on Cambodia 4
Decries U.S. Plans for Yokosuka Port 4
Favors More Afghan Talks in Geneva 4
U.S., Pakistan Violate Accords 5
Comments on Churbanov Trial 5
Welcomes NATO Commander's Statement 6
On Nonaligned Conference in Nicosia 6
Akhromeyev Urges Naval Force Reductions *[PRAVDA 5 Sep]* 6
Shishlin Views Disarmament Talks, Cambodia 10
Journal Cited on Pact, NATO Military Doctrines 11
Delegation Head Cited on CSCE Talks Progress 11
'Top Priority' Views Arms Talks, U.S. Ties *[Kuznetsov, Bogdanov, Plekhanov]* 11
Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' 15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Soviet-U.S. Talks Focus on Regional Conflicts *[PRAVDA 3 Sep]* 21
TASS Notes Reagan Radio Address, Response 21
Missile Puts 'Classified Payload' Into Orbit 22
Zorin Urges U.S. To Continue Path of Accords 22
U.S. Heads List of Arms Suppliers *[Vavilov]* 22
Demands for KAL Investigation Meet Silence 23

China

Visit by Husak, Sino-Soviet Summit Viewed 23
More on Rogachev Visit, Discussion on Cambodia 24
Dialogue With Tian Cited *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* 24
'Serious Differences' Noted 24
UN Talks on Cambodia Set 25
Leaves Beijing for Home 25
'Glad' of PRC Cambodia Stand 25
Qian Qichen Cited on World Scene, Bilateral Ties *[PRAVDA 2 Sep]* 25
Carlucci Arrives in Beijing for Talks 26

Northeast Asia

Soviet-Japanese Foreign Ministry Consultations 26
Takeshita Statements on Ties With China Viewed *[PRAVDA 1 Sep]* 26
DPRK Olympic Body Regrets Nonparticipation 27
First Soviet Olympic Athletes Arrive in Seoul 27

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev, SRV Official Discuss Cambodia 28
Greetings to SRV Leaders on Independence Day *[PRAVDA 2 Sep]* 28
Hun Sen Interview Broadcast to Cambodia 29

Near East & South Asia

Najibullah Appeal to Other Parties Cited *[PRAVDA 2 Sep]* 30
Paper Interviews Afghan Prime Minister *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* 31
Afghan Minister on 'Difficulties' With Rebels 33
Rebels Launch Missile Attack on Kabul 1 Sep 33
TASS Describes Damage 33
TV Shows Airport Damage 34
Kozyakov Views Missile Attacks 34
Afghan Official on Minefields, Booby Traps 35
Kornilov on Pakistan's 'Destructive' Policy 35
U.S.-Pakistani Cooperation Poses 'Threat' 36
Akhromeyev Sees Off Kuwaiti Officer on Tour *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Sep]* 36
Commentator Praises Libya on National Day *[Timoshkin]* 36

East Europe

PRAVDA Reports End of Polish Strikes *[5 Sep]* 37
Proposal for Roundtable Meeting Draws Attention 37
Husak Tours Novosibirsk En Route to Beijing *[Prague CTK]* 38
CSSR's Lenart Begins Working Visit 38
Met by Slyunkov 38
Discusses Economic Cooperation *[Prague CTK]* 38
Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society Board Meets 39

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Democratic Union 5 Sep Demonstration Banned *[AFP]* 40
Militia Breaks Up Gathering 40
'No Extreme Steps' Needed 40
PRAVDA Reports First Day of Churbanov Trial *[6 Sep]* 41
Churbanov's Lawyer Interviewed 42
Fire Shuts Down Lithuanian Reactor 5 Sep *[IZVESTIYA 6 Sep]* 44
Automatic Systems Put Out Fire 44
'Great Public Concern' Noted *[Vilnius]* 45
Lifelong Health Checks for Chernobyl Residents *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 45
Bodnaruk Rebuts Complaints About Restructuring *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* 45
Gromyko Addresses Kremlin Awards Ceremony 46
Yeltsin Opens Construction Achievements Fair 47
KGB Official Discusses Information Policy 47
OGONEK's Korotich on Publishing Freedoms *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 28 Aug]* 48
Documentary on Party Conference Aired 49
Bukharin's Theories, Significance Examined 53
Proposals on Lithuanian 'Economic Independence' *[Vilnius]* 54
Lithuanian CP Official on Perestroyka Group *[Vilnius]* 55
Vezirov Speaks at Journalists' Briefing *[Baku]* 55
Addresses Education Officials *[Baku]* 55
Azerbaijan Construction Materials Minister Named *[Baku]* 56
Azerbaijan Officials View Complaint Process *[Baku]* 56
'Shortcomings' at RSFSR Transport Ministry *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 2 Sep]* 56
18 Rural Rayons in Uzbekistan Abolished 57

Scientific

Soviet-Afghan Space Mission Continues 57
Photography Experiments Conducted 57
Najibullah Greets Crew 58
Doctor on Condition of Cosmonauts 59
Cosmonauts Hold News Conference 59
Crew Conducts Final Experiments 59
'Mir,' 'Soyuz-TM-5' Undock 60
'Deviations' Discovered in 'Soyuz' Parameters 60
'Soyuz TM-5' To Land 7 September 60
'Cosmos-1900' Not 'Radiation Hazard' 60
Space Experiment Examines Earth's Crust 61
Ocean Development Organization Starts Work 61

U.S. Position on ABM 'Obstacle' to Progress

LD0209193888 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The attempts by the U.S. side at revising the formula of observance of the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972 and its non-abandonment for an agreed time, understanding on which was reached at the Washington summit meeting, are an obstacle to progress at the Sovet-American meeting to review the effects of the ABM Treaty, which closed in Geneva. The Soviet Union is committed to the ABM Treaty, statements about which were repeatedly made by the Soviet representatives. The Soviet Union strives for strengthening that treaty, which is of key significance for ensuring further steps towards disarmament and drawing up an agreement on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive forces of the USSR and the USA.

By raising once again the question of the Krasnoyarsk radar station, the United States seems to be trying to find a pretext for undermining or giving up in general the agreements reached in the field of limitation of strategic weapons. The Soviet side has repeatedly declared that the above-said radar station is designed solely for tracking objects in outer space. The American representatives visited Krasnoyarsk and had every opportunity to draw the necessary conclusions on that score.

Meanwhile the USA is deploying in its territory radar stations of the Pave Paws type, whose parameters practically do not differ from those of ABM radar stations. It is believed that such stations can efficiently serve for creating an anti-missile ballistic defence system for the U.S. territory. There are also other examples of actions by the USA in defiance of the provisions of the ABM Treaty. They are the deployment of a big radar station in Greenland, the creation of mobile ABM radar stations, including air-based ones, and also the testing of a mobile-based anti-missile.

At Geneva the Soviet side tabled a number of constructive proposals which if realised would help towards eliminating many concerns of the sides in connection with the implementation of the ABM Treaty. Yet these proposals did not meet with a positive response from the U.S. side. The U.S. side did not display preparedness either for rectifying the violations made by it of the ABM Treaty.

Work Continues at Geneva Arms Talks

LD0209201788 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Geneva September 2 TASS—Discussion in both groups—on strategic offensive arms and space arms—continued in the past week at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms underway here.

In connection with the working out of a draft treaty on 50 percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, the USSR delegation continued paying special attention to the consideration and solution of questions of verification. A plenary meeting of the delegations was held on the proposal of the Soviet side. At that meeting, the USSR delegation submitted a new compromise proposal regarding the verification of a number of warheads at intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Combined with the proposals for verification submitted earlier by the Soviet side, the new Soviet initiative opens an opportunity for a decisive progress in coordinating the draft of such an important document entrusted to the delegations, as the draft protocol on inspections.

The work continued to formulate the wordings implementing the Moscow arrangement on the questions of limitation of long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers. As regards proposals for control over mobile launchers of inter-continental ballistic missiles, the work in this area is still hampered by the fact that there has yet been no constructive response of the U.S. side to the wordings suggested by the Soviet delegation.

Work intensified in the subgroup on the protocol on reequipment or elimination of strategic offensive arms, in whose framework the Soviet side also made a number of constructive proposals during the current round. Certain progress has been achieved on some provisions of this document.

The discussion of the question of drafting a protocol to the prepared agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from the treaty for a specified period of time was continued in the group on space arms. As is known, the protocol envisages a complex of measures for verification, confidence-building and enhancement of predictability which are called upon to ensure the confidence that the provisions of the agreement being drafted and the ABM Treaty will be strictly observed. But because of the stand of the U.S. side which continues insisting on the alteration of the Washington formula of December 10, 1987, progress is still lacking in working out a joint draft of the very agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it.

Talks Focus on Verification

LD0309220388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 3 Sep 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Text] Hello, comrades! The past week has been rich in international events, which we will try to look at today in retrospect. In the first place, the world has been celebrating World Peace Day, which has become an important landmark in the anti-war struggle of the international public. Moreover, the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and

space weapons have been continuing in Geneva during these past days. The discussions at these talks proceeded in separate groups, on strategic offensive weapons, and on space weapons. The main aim of those taking part in the talks regarding preparation of a draft agreement for 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons is currently the resolution of problems relating to verification. It was on these problems that the main attention was focused.

At the proposal of the Soviet side a plenary session was held, at which our delegation presented a new compromise proposal. It concerns, in particular, verification of the number of warheads on ICBM's and on submarine-based missiles. Moreover, work continued on coordinating formulations which might embody, in document form, the Moscow accord on matters relating to limiting long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers.

Unfortunately, the elaboration of methods of verification for the mobile launchers of strategic missiles is, as before, being impeded. The point here is that for the moment no constructive reaction to the Soviet proposals from the U.S. side is in evidence. In the space weapons group, examination of the question of elaborating a draft protocol to the agreement on adhering to the ABM Treaty, which is currently being prepared, has continued. The draft protocol makes provision for a package of measures for enhancing trust and predictability. They are to guarantee confidence in rigorous adherence to the agreement being elaborated. Evidently, the road to a full and compromise resolution of all of these numerous problems will not be a simple one, and much depends on the position of the future U.S. Administration, which will appear on the political stage very soon, within a matter of months.

U.S., France Hamper Progress

LD0409114088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] The summer session of the disarmament conference has been at work in Geneva's Palais des Nations for almost 2 months. It finishes on 15 September. The work of the diplomats and experts is obviously coming to an end. What issues have been attracting their attention most? Where has the most progress been achieved? I will hand you over to Vladimir Dmitriyev, our correspondent in Switzerland. Here now is Geneva:

[Dmitriyev] It should be noted that the disarmament conference is a unique multilateral negotiating forum which already has a history of more than a quarter of a century. Many of the important international treaties and agreements now in force were drawn up by the conference. Forty states take part in it. It is possible that in the very near future this number will be increased, since applications are now being considered from a whole number of countries that have expressed the wish to join in the forum's work.

The work of the session, as has been repeatedly emphasized in speeches, is proceeding under the favorable influence of the Soviet-U.S. summit-level negotiations. The results of the Moscow summit and the process of real nuclear disarmament which has begun on the basis of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on eliminating their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are facilitating the search for a sensible balance of interests in the matter of nuclear disarmament, reducing conventional armaments, and other issues being discussed. There has been, for example, the plan of action put forward by India to establish a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons. Without in the least playing down the importance of this plan, I would like to say that it is very much in accord with the Soviet global program for disarmament of 15 January 1986. A further example is that Czechoslovakia and Norway have submitted a number of proposals on verification with an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests.

Within the framework of the summer session, the special committee on space weapons has ended its work. It has been engaged in questions concerning the prevention of the launch of nuclear weapons into outer space. Unfortunately, there are no grounds to speak of a qualitative breakthrough or adoption by the committee of any important decisions. The reasons are well known. The work is being hampered by the United States and its positions and the Pentagon's plans to militarize space.

It was pointed out at the session that it is particularly important now to concentrate efforts on completing, as quickly as possible, the drafting of an international convention on eliminating chemical weapons. Noticeable progress has been achieved in this respect, but further movement toward agreeing on the articles of the document is being held up by the U.S. delegation's maneuvering and procrastination. The work is also being hampered by the French position. As is well known, France has set about chemical rearmament, and this is making itself felt in the actions of its delegation at the negotiations. The French have been putting forward the concept of a so-called safety reserve. This is to say that, if the convention provisionally came into force, France would nevertheless continue to produce chemical weapons. It is clear that other states would follow France. In other words, on this issue there is a kind of undermining of the very principle of the universality of the convention.

One can see that there are many difficulties in the work of the session, but, as many delegations here are emphasizing, they can be overcome if all those taking part in the disarmament conference show goodwill and a willingness to give up acts of narrow, national selfishness for the sake of the general interests of mankind and for the sake of creating a world without chemical, nuclear, or other types of weapons of mass destruction.

Conventional Arms Talks Resume in Vienna

LD0509085688 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna September 5 TASS—Consultations between representatives of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the elaboration of a mandate for future talks on a reduction in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, were resumed here today after a brief recess.

Provisions concerning the objective of the talks and composition of their participants, verification and exchange of data, on a binding international nature of future agreements, on orgnaizational conditions, and a procedure of the talks had been already coordinated at the consultations earlier.

Yuriy Kashlev, the leader of the USSR delegation, in his speech called on the participants to focus their attention during the concluding phase of the consultations on coordinating the key issues that remain open: a precise definition of the subject of the talks and geographical zone so as to complete the elaboration of the mandate soon and to begin all-European talks on conventional arms as early as this year.

Means for Missile Destruction Described

LD0309023088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1818 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—Correspondent Mikhail Zakharchuk reports:

The Soviet nuclear missile shield—the strategic parity that we achieved—was the reliable and firm foundation on which the new political thinking grew in the world and the opportunity appeared for reversing the exhausting arms race. As soon as the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was signed, those at the Main Staff of the Strategic Rocket Forces started thinking about how to scrap their dear—in the direct and figurative sense—weaponry.

At the beginning of the year, a center was set up in the USSR for implementing the elimination of intermediate-range missiles. By special order of the commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces, about 100 of the best officers from combat units and subdivisions, the best trained and most enterprising, were selected for the center. Colonel Aleksey Gutnikov has been entrusted with commanding the unusual subdivision. It is symbolic that the center has been accommodated in the same building in which the entire strategic rocket forces command is situated.

Should anyone imagine that destruction is not constructive, then with regard to missile technology—which has absorbed the very best of human intellectual capacity—this is at the very least a naive delusion. Nuclear delivery vehicles are so complex that it takes a virtuoso expert to dismantle them. For example, an R-12 [SS-4], which uses liquid fuel, can be bled. Then, when the elements of the guidance system have been removed, the rocket can be broken up using air plasma cutting equipment. The solid-fueled RSD-10 [SS-20] is much more complicated, and the center's officers have had to work hard. In principle, it is not possible to cut this missile up. They ended up with two ways of eliminating it: launching it, or blowing it up.

The first method was not new to missile experts. All of them had been present at training launches, but it was only permitted to destroy around 200 missiles in this fashion. There were quite a few complications that arose in connection with the exploding of the remaining 600 vehicles. In the first experiments, it was found that sizable pieces of fuel remained scattered all over the firing range after the explosion. Some sort of explosion technology had to be developed that would ensure the complete destruction of the fuel and the metal body parts. The center's officers managed to cope with the task in record time.

Parallel with the development of technology to eliminate missile systems, bases for the destruction were built at settlements near Chita, Lesnaya, Sarny, and Kapustin Yar, Kansk, and other places. Technical facilities and housing were built here very rapidly, the bases were manned and fitted out with special technology, and roads and communications lines were brought to them.

Tension at the center reached its height at the end of May this year, when the Ministry of Defense and the leadership of the USSR National Center for Nuclear Danger Reduction made the decision to show radio and television journalists from a number of Western countries the state of readiness of the base for eliminating means of transport in the town of Sarny in Rovno Oblast.

Under the command of officers from the center, the elimination of three intermediate-range missiles took place for the first time ever at the Kapustin Yar testing range, using the explosion method. Among the 200 observers from 51 states was Miljan Komatina, secretary general of the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the UN secretary general's personal representative. He told Soviet journalists that the missile experts had arranged everything splendidly, and thanked his hosts at the testing range for their warm welcome.

Incidentally, the events at Kapustin Yar summed up, in a sense, the first stage in the verification [proverka] of implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Press Briefing

Praises USSR-PRC Talks on Cambodia

LD0509141888 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"In the Soviet Union they are satisfied with the results of the first Soviet-Chinese working meeting on questions related to a settlement around Kampuchea", Gennadiy Gerasimov, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said today. He noted that the talks that passed in a business-like and constructive atmosphere highlighted the two countries' common striving for the earliest and fair unblocking of the conflict situation around Kampuchea.

The meeting, that was held in Beijing on August 27-September 2, involved Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Tian Zengpei, deputy foreign minister of the People's Republic of China.

In the past as well the sides concurred that the Kampuchean problem should be settled by political means, that future Kampuchea should be a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned state, that the country's internal problems should be handled by the Kampucheans themselves, Gerasimov noted. Efforts to extend the sphere of mutual understanding have succeeded as a result of the just-ended talks, there has become more points of contact, although differences on several issues remain.

"It is important that the USSR and China sat down at the negotiating table, launched a serious dialogue on the Kampuchean settlement", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed. "All this lays down a good foundation for continuing and deepening the exchange of views in the interests of creating favourable external conditions for the earliest settlement of the situation around Kampuchea, ameliorating the situation in South-East Asia".

"At the same time, of central importance is, certainly, attaining mutual understanding and accord between the Kampuchean parties themselves", Gerasimov said. "In view of this, we attach enormous importance to a working group to comprise representatives of the parties to study the specific aspects of a political solution to the Kampuchean question, which is planned to be formed under the Bogor arrangements, and also to the upcoming negotiations between Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk in France and the new Bogor-type informal meeting scheduled".

Gerasimov drew attention to the fact that as a result of their working meeting in Beijing the sides' agreed to continue to apply efforts to surmount differences between them on individual aspects of the settlement around Kampuchea.

Decries U.S. Plans for Yokosuka Port

LD0509145888 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The basing of ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Japanese port of Yokosuka can hardly be viewed as a friendly and goodneighbourly action promoting the growth of Japan's prestige in the region and the world, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

Commenting on the arrival of the "Bunker Hill" cruiser and "Fife" destroyer for permanent basing at Yokosuka, he said that these U.S. naval ships are armed with Tomahawk sea-based cruise missiles that can hit targets at a distance of 2,500 kilometres, also in the USSR territory.

It is alleged that these are "reply" measures of the USA, even though the United States already has preponderance in the main classes of naval ships in the Pacific—aircraft carriers, battleships, nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered cruisers, submarines armed with cruise missiles, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

He called the attention of newsmen to the article by chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev published in PRAVDA today. Marshal Akhromeyev writes that all the allegations about the "build-up of the Soviet naval forces", about the "increase of the Soviet presence in various areas of the world ocean" are aimed at explaining somehow the scope and offensive character of the activity of the U.S. Navy and allied navies.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman condemned the striving of official Tokyo to justify in any way the strengthening of the Japanese-U.S. military alliance and the build-up of Japan's military potential. "This looks particularly odious now against the background of positive changes in the international arena, also in the Asia-Pacific region", he said.

Favors More Afghan Talks in Geneva

LD0509150488 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes and fully supports Afghanistan's address to the USSR, the United States, Pakistan and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, proposing holding a meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries which signed the Geneva agreements to review their implementation, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing that the Afghan side, being seriously concerned over the future of the Geneva

agreements, proceeded from the premise that the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding among the parties to the accords could become an effective and powerful factor to speeding up their implementation and attaining the goal of ending the war and destruction in Afghanistan and securing a lasting peace in the region.

"We believe," Gerasimov said, "that Afghanistan's initiative is timely and necessary since the situation created by Pakistan with regard to the implementation of the Geneva agreements is dangerous for the agreements themselves."

Clarifying the Soviet position, the ministry spokesman said that the Soviet and Afghan sides had repeatedly, including officially, drawn attention of the Pakistani leadership to the continued interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs carried out from its territory contrary to the accords signed in Geneva on April 14.

The U.N. monitoring groups in Kabul and Islamabad were being kept informed about specific facts of such violations.

It thus turned out that only one aspect of the Geneva agreements, concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops, was operating, while the bulk of the accords connected with the cessation of interference and the return of refugees was being totally ignored by Pakistan, Gerasimov said.

"This practice puts in question the implementation of the Geneva documents and demands the adoption of measures to rectify the situation," he emphasised.

Pakistan's refusal to participate in the Afghanistan-proposed meeting was giving rise to "bewilderment and regret."

"Especially awkward in this respect are Islamabad's claims that the Geneva agreements were being violated by Afghanistan, while Pakistan scrupulously abided by them in letter and spirit," Gerasimov added.

"By its refusal, Pakistan has in fact proved that it not only violates the Geneva agreements, but is unwilling to discuss the emerging questions in a business-like way," he said.

"The Pakistani stance is fraught with the most serious consequences for the Afghan settlement and questions its assurances of the readiness to facilitate the solution of the Afghan issue and comply with the pledges assumed."

U.S., Pakistan Violate Accords

LD0509155288 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan strictly comply with all the provisions of the Geneva accords, while Pakistan and the United States continue to violate them ever more openly and intensively, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today. He said it had recently become known that the United States started direct supplies of armaments to units of the armed opposition on the Afghan territory, bypassing the Peshawar groups. "Isn't this the evidence of direct and open violations of the Geneva accords by the U.S. side," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman asked.

There is information that some armed units of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and "the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" are supplied with ammunition with chemical components for heavy arms. Such ammunition was, specifically, brought into the provinces of Nangarhar and Qandahar.

Gennadiy Gerasimov also commented on Pakistani allegations about the bombing of the Pakistani populated locality Warsak by Afghan aircraft on September 1. "As we know, Afghan aircraft have not violated the Pakistani air space and, consequently, have not bombed villages situated in the Pakistani territory", he said. "Over the past days planes of the Afghan Air Force have not approached the Pakistani border closer than to six kilometres. The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan qualified this assertion of the Pakistani side as absolutely groundless".

Gerasimov said that the aim of such allegations is to accuse the Afghan side of the violation of the Geneva accords and thus distract the attention from Pakistan's continued violations of its commitments under the Geneva accords.

Noting that the facts of the violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan are numerous and were mentioned more than once, the Foreign Ministry spokesman gave another such example. Two Pakistani battalions are deployed in the area of the Pakistani populated locality Chumar-Kandaw close to the border with Afghanistan (Konarha Province). In the second half of August these units supported the Afghan armed opposition by fire from heavy arms more than once. The personnel of the Pakistani battalions also ensured security of foreign advisers who organize combat operations of the rebels. Isn't this why the Pakistani Foreign Ministry rejected Afghanistan's proposals for the convocation of a meeting under the United Nations auspices of the participants in the Geneva accords to discuss the course of their implementaion, Gennadiy Gerasimov asked.

Comments on Churbanov Trial

LD0509153588 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The trial of Yuriy Churbanov, a former first deputy minister for the interior accused of bribe-taking, is to a certain extent a warning against the repetition of such phenomena, just like any trial on similar charges, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Replying to a question about political aspects of the Churbanov case, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, refrained from making a detailed comment.

He suggested instead "waiting for the development of the trial."

Welcomes NATO Commander's Statement

LD0509160788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1537 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—The USSR welcomes the statement by John Galvin, supreme commander in chief of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe, that "under conditions of the new situation in the world", his "contacts with the command of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces would be mutually useful", Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, today told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists. "It is expected in the Soviet Union that this statement will be followed by practical steps toward its implementation", he stressed.

In particular, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman recalled that the idea of contacts between representatives of the two military political alliances was put forward by participants in the Warsaw Pact and was given specific form at the Berlin and Warsaw meetings of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the talks between USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci as well as the talks between Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and William Crowe, chief of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, testify to the usefulness of such contacts.

On Nonaligned Conference in Nicosia

LD0509210088 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The USSR wishes success to participants in the Nicosia conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in the solution of problems facing them in the interests of the consolidation of unity and cohesion of the movement, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

In the course of the meeting in Cyprus the ministers can make a new contribution to the improvement of the international situation by reiterating and developing resolutions on disarmament problems adopted at a special session of the Coordinating Bureau in Havana last May. Broad prospects open up before them in the sphere of the settlement of regional conflicts and the solution of economic problems that seriously worry developing countries today, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

Akhromeyev Urges Naval Force Reductions

PM0409190588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 88 First Edition p 6

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff: "Naval Forces and Universal Security"—boldface introduction as published]

[Text] **As a result of persistent efforts by the USSR and the allied socialist countries and—it would be only fair to say—corresponding countersteps by the United States and its allies, there has been success in easing military tension and achieving positive results in the sphere of nuclear arms reduction. There have been positive changes in reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe, which is seeing the development of processes leading to increased mutual trust and creating the prerequisites for achieving measures in the disarmament sphere. There are, however, other trends that are also clearly visible. The efforts by the United States and its allies are aimed at not conducting talks on arms in which the NATO bloc states enjoy superiority.**

The United States is making especially great efforts to prevent talks on the reduction of naval forces and their armaments, to prevent verification of naval activity. A totally unrestricted arms race is still continuing in the open oceans and seas; a gigantic destructive potential of nuclear and conventional weapons is concentrated on surface ships and submarines. The U.S. Navy controls all oceans and most seas. This creates an atmosphere of tension and threatens the security of socialist states and other countries alike.

Why is it that the United States refuses talks on reducing naval forces and disagrees on any restrictions on their military activity? Could it be that the assessment of these forces as dangerous for the cause of peace and the demand for their reduction are unobjective? Let us try to answer these questions.

I.

Addressing the professorial and tutorial staff of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy on 1 August 1988, in the course of his official visit to the Soviet Union, U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci frankly declared that the United States does not intend to reduce its naval forces nor in any way to restrict their activity since these forces perform, in his words, purely defensive functions to defend shipping lanes, communications, and links with allies. They and their activity are not, apparently, dangerous for other countries. F. Carlucci declared that to demand a reduction of naval forces

by the United States would be tantamount to the Americans demanding that the Soviet Union dismantle its railroad and highways networks.

This statement does not stand up to critical examination. Nobody is asking the United States to leave its sea communications undefended. It has all it needs to offer such defense. Furthermore, the Soviet Union is proposing to start talks and reduce (on a reciprocal basis, of course) those elements of the USSR Navy that worry the United States. But the United States stubbornly rejects this.

The U.S. naval forces today are much in excess of the levels required for defense. Despite this, the Navy's proportion in the country's overall military potential is steadily growing. The Navy and the Air Force are the most powerful components in the structure of the U.S. Armed Forces. In terms of numerical strength they each represent 35 percent (a total of 70 percent), and the ground forces another 30 percent, of the total armed forces potential. Such a situation prevails in virtually no other army in the world, with the Navy and Air Force being numerically stronger than the ground forces and representing the bulk of a state's might.

The U.S. Navy's main purpose is not defense but the conduct of active offensive operations in the totally unrestricted ocean expanses. A dominant position in its structure is occupied by strike means: nuclear submarines, major surface ships including battleships (all armed with long-range cruise missiles with a range of 2,600 km and more), a numerically strong naval aviation apparatus, and powerful amphibious forces capable of simultaneously transporting Marine Corps expeditionary units [soyedineniya] over long distances.

Particular mention ought to be made of the aircraft carriers and carrier task forces. They possess a huge might. The U.S. Navy has 15 strike aircraft carriers, 5 of which are nuclear powered. Each one of these carriers represents a floating aviation division. They provide base facilities for up to 100 combat aircraft with an operational range of 1,000 km and more, more than 40 of which carry nuclear weapons. Such a ship carries on board 15 million liters of aircraft fuel and almost 1,000 tonnes of combat munitions. Their crews consist of about 6,000 men. Each aircraft carrier is escorted by support combat ships. Open publications in the United States bluntly state that carrier task forces must be in a state of permanent readiness to perform combat tasks and to strike immediately at selected targets "anywhere on the globe and in any undeclared wars." These are not just empty words. Libya, Lebanon, and Grenada have already experienced strikes by these forces.

Therefore, the U.S. Navy's strike force—no matter how much people might try to convince us to the contrary—is incalculably greater than is necessary to meet U.S. defense requirements. Moreover, it is long-range offensive weapons that are being built up, and new aircraft carriers are under construction.

The so-called "new naval strategy" provides the basis for the building and operational use of the U.S. Navy. Its demands boil down to enhancing the Navy's offensive potential still further within the overall structure of the armed forces, securing its superiority at sea by the further growth of strike means, and establishing control in all "vitally important" parts of the world—the North Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, in the Norwegian Sea, and in the Mediterranean. The main point, according to former U.S. Secretary of the Navy J. Lehman, one of the authors of this strategy, is to ensure that the U.S. naval forces are ready to conduct offensive operations against the USSR in its littoral seas and to strike targets situated deep inside Soviet territory. According to the "new naval strategy," the Navy's objectives are to gain advantage through preventive measures, capture the initiative at the start of a conflict, deliver strikes, and destroy the enemy. This is the essence of U.S. naval strategy. There is no talk here about defense of shipping lanes and communications.

The tenets of the "naval strategy" are rehearsed in exercises and maneuvers involving the systematic concentration of strike forces, equivalent to wartime forces, in the immediate vicinity of USSR territory.

The U.S. naval forces are the main instrument of pressure used to pursue the U.S. policy "from a position of strength." There is no need to look very far for examples. The United States and its allies have concentrated in the Persian Gulf region an armada that is without equal in peacetime (more than 60 warships, over one-half of which are U.S. ships). This dangerous demonstration of naval power (military operations between Iraq and Iran have ceased) is attributed to an alleged desire to secure freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf. The true purpose is to consolidate the U.S. Navy's permanent presence there. No secret is made of this by Washington officials. U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci, speaking in a U.S. television interview 9 August, bluntly declared that the United States will remain in the Gulf even after the normalization of the situation there.

The U.S. presence is being built up virtually everywhere in the world's oceans.

The scale of exercises conducted in the North Atlantic and the northern seas of Europe is expanding. U.S. nuclear submarines are intensively establishing themselves in the Arctic. There has been increased activity by ASW forces and military aircraft.

Ships and combat aircraft of the 6th Fleet are permanently stationed in the Mediterranean. The United States maintains more than 170 bases and other military facilities there, which constitute a bridgehead posing a permanent military threat to the Soviet Union and the

socialist countries in the Balkan Peninsula, and are used as a staging base for the movement of U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces in the Near and Middle East.

The scale of naval activity and the presence of forward-based forces close to the Soviet Union's Far East borders are expanding. The number of ships fitted with Tomahawk cruise missiles is growing within the 7th Fleet which operates there. Large-scale exercises involving aircraft carriers, battleships, and landing ships take place in waters close to the Soviet Union's borders from the Sea of Japan to the Bering Sea, and their intensity and scope have increased recently. The offensive nature of these exercises can be seen in the fact that they are held as part of a single plan, with similar NATO exercises in the Atlantic and in Europe, to rehearse in the course of these exercises seaborne strikes against Soviet territory.

In an interview with the newspaper TAGESSPIEGEL, U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, spoke again of the "Soviet military threat" posed to Europe by the Soviet Union. In fact, such a threat does not exist. But in order to relieve the West European countries' concern, we are prepared to talk on the entire package of questions of armed forces and armaments in Europe, including their reduction.

Is the United States prepared for talks with the Soviet Union in reducing the sides' naval forces? So far it has been rejecting such talks.

II.

In order to somehow explain the true scale and offensive spirit of their navies' activity, people in the West recently started spreading a story about an alleged "buildup of Soviet naval forces," about "a greater Soviet presence in different parts of the oceans." All this is a fabrication. It does not conform with the real state of affairs. In reality the Soviet Navy is not only not building up but is actually reducing its presence in the oceans.

It is true that the Soviet Navy's combat composition includes both defensive and strike means. Its main strike force comprises nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines armed with ballistic missiles. It is, however, well known that this type of naval arms is covered by the USSR-U.S. talks on reducing strategic offensive arms. We also have (quite a few at that) multipurpose nuclear- and diesel-powered submarines carrying missile and torpedo arms. We are asking the United States to start talks on the reduction of the sides' naval forces. This reduction will also cover these submarines of ours. As for the remaining forces of our Navy, they are basically for coastal operations and designed to defend our shores. Let us show, for comparison purposes, the warship structure of the USSR and U.S. navies.

Warship Structure of the USSR and U.S. Navies (in percentages)

Type of ship	USSR	USA
Nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines	6	8
Submarines, other types	30	21
Ocean-going ships	12	65
Coastal operations ships	52	6

The Soviet Union and our allies also have to take into account the naval forces of the other NATO bloc countries. The overall correlation of naval forces is as follows: NATO's is superior to the Warsaw Pact in naval personnel strength by a factor of 4.5; in numbers of ocean-going ships by a factor of 7.6; in total tonnage of ships by a factor of 3; and in naval combat aircraft by a factor of 2.4. The Warsaw Pact has a certain superiority in submarines—by a factor of 1.2—and in ships for coastal operations by a factor of 1.6 But the overall superiority of the U.S. and NATO navies over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact navies is considerable.

The figures cited above on the ship structure and correlation of the sides' naval forces confirm the defensive nature of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact navies and the offensive thrust of the U.S. and NATO bloc navies.

This conclusion is also confirmed by the correlation of U.S. and USSR amphibious forces. The Americans enjoy an almost sixfold superiority over us in total tonnage of landing ships, a fourfold superiority in amphibious assault troops accommodation, and are many times superior to us in terms of naval infantry strength.

As regards regional imbalances, the United States is again superior to the USSR in almost all naval force components in all main parts of the world's oceans—the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Asia-Pacific region, and the Indian Ocean.

This is precisely why the United States is unwilling to embark on a reduction of the sides' naval forces and on reciprocal restrictions on their activity. To maintain superiority, to keep other states subject to tension from the seas and oceans—then the answer is "yes." But the United States does not consent to a reciprocal reduction of the military danger from the oceans.

The arms race at sea, which has been unleashed by the United States and some other NATO countries, and the sharp increase of their navies' activity are leading to an increased military danger and render the world's oceans the most likely place for the emergence of conflict situations involving the use of weapons. This situation cannot continue.

The problem of disarmament in the seas and oceans is becoming an inalienable factor of the development of East-West relations as a whole. In line with the development of the process of reducing strategic offensive arms and armed forces and armaments on the European Continent and with the expansion and deepening of verification measures concerning military activity by ground forces, the question of limiting and reducing naval arms and of extending confidence-building measures to the independent activity of naval forces is emerging to the fore. These forces are becoming an increasingly destabilizing factor of the international situation, both globally and regionally.

The question is: How does the U.S. side intend to solve the problem of limiting naval arms and restraining the activity of its naval forces? The United States must give a specific answer to this question.

III.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact have no intention of infringing on the security interests of the United States and NATO. They propose the adoption of effective measures aimed at lowering the level of the military presence and the intensity of military activity in the various areas of the world oceans. For many years in succession now at conferences of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee the socialist countries have been advocating examination of the question of limiting and reducing the level of the military presence and military activity in the relevant regions—be it the Atlantic, Indian, or Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean, or the Persian Gulf.

A specific program for resolving naval problems was set out in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok (1986), in the interview with the Indonesian paper MERDEKA (1987), and in his speeches in Murmansk (1987) and Yugoslavia (1988). We have proposed the convening of a special international conference to discuss issues of limiting the activity of and reducing naval forces. We have also declared the Soviet Union's readiness to convene a special sitting of the UN Security Council to discuss these issues.

All these constructive proposals have been passed over in silence by the United States and the NATO bloc as a whole. Their logic is, simply, surprising. They are seeking the further extension of confidence-building measures to the activities of ground forces in Europe, yet as soon as the issue of naval armaments—in which they possess an advantage—is raised, suddenly there is a multitude of excuses. For instance, it is asserted that the proposed Soviet measures on curbing naval activity as a consequence of the U.S. superiority in naval armaments (particularly in ocean-going ships) are "unbalanced" (for the United States has more of these forces!) and are therefore, they say, unacceptable. How would U.S. representatives react to such "logic" from our side in relation, say, to the combat strength of the armored forces?

The Soviet Union believes that the achievement of the goals of limiting and reducing naval armaments is possible in practice. Moreover, this can be accomplished stage by stage, beginning with the achievement of accords on the simplest measures on which elements of mutual understanding already exist—for example, the provision of guarantees of the security of maritime communications and the extension of confidence-building measures to naval forces.

Why not agree on the extension of confidence-building measures defined by the Stockholm document to the independent activity of the sides' naval forces? In particular, prior notification of major naval exercises, the invitation of observers to them, the mutual inspection of naval exercises, and the limitation of the number of major exercises in each ocean and sea theater of military operations. Reciprocal notification could also embrace major transfers of those naval forces that possess the potential for sudden attack (for example, the transfer of naval infantry or ground forces by sea and by air).

We also consider completely realistic the adoption of measures curbing the most dangerous activity of naval fleets. We propose, for example, the establishment of agreed security areas for missile-carrying submarines (as a means of retaliatory strike) in which the activity of ASW forces is to be prohibited; the prohibition of naval activity in agreed zones of international gulfs and areas of intensive shipping and fishing; limitation of the sailing of nuclear-armed ships in such a way as to prevent their approaching the other side's seaboard to within the range of their own onboard nuclear means; limitation of the deployment areas of the sides' amphibious forces in order to reduce the threat of a sudden seaborne attack. It would be possible to agree on other issues related to curbing naval activity and reducing naval armaments to within limits of reasonable sufficiency. The Soviet side is prepared here to examine all aspects of the problem of limiting and reducing fleets' naval activity and armaments to any level and within the framework of any forum.

In a word, given the sides' political will for this, it is possible to do much in the sphere of reducing naval armaments, increasing confidence and the openness of fleets' activities, and reducing the threat of a sudden seaborne attack. Does the United States have such political will, responsibility, and consideration for the security requirements of the other side? I believe that in the new world that will take shape in the climate of disarmament it will be increasingly difficult to evade the problem of reducing naval forces. Sooner or later the political decisions that take mutual interests into consideration will have to be made.

As for the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries, they are doing everything incumbent on them to transform the world's oceans from a zone of war danger into a zone of peace and cooperation, into a sphere of further development of the political and economic ties of the peoples of all countries of the world community. We call upon the United States and its NATO allies to support us in this. If both sides adopt such an approach then this will make possible the most decisive advance in yet another area of disarmament—the sphere of naval armaments.

Shishlin Views Disarmament Talks, Cambodia

LD0409203188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Sep 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] The 1st of September saw the start of the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear missiles from the territory of West Germany. In all 108 U.S. Pershing-2 missiles are sited there, plus 12 reserve missiles and, I think, 12 training ones. The missiles will be taken to the United States where they will be destroyed by one method or another. This will take 3 years. Well, the first steps along this road have already been taken. They have been taken by the Soviet Union and by the United States and that is, of course, good news.

Talks have resumed in Vienna within the framework of the Helskinki process and optimists believe that these talks may end in success in October, culminating in the formulation of a mandate for talks on conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe and in the confirmation of the stabilization of what we call the Helsinki process. As regards the dates for this, I would of course like to be among the optimists but certain doubts do still remain.

Last week also saw the end of talks in Geneva, Soviet-U.S. talks that considered matters connected with the observance of the ABM Treaty. It must be said that the U.S. delegation behaved in a rather rigid manner. The Americans stated that if the Soviet Union does not dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar station then there can be no question whatsoever of arriving at a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons or an agreement on strengthening the conditions of the ABM Treaty. Furthermore, the Americans are setting this as an absolute condition and, in general, the tone of the U.S. statement looks like an ultimatum. Well, that is of course utterly unjustified since this radar station at Krasnoyarsk is not operational. It is unfinished and construction work there has been halted. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has repeatedly told the Americans that we are ready to eliminate it but only on the understanding that the Americans do not adopt the attitude of: What's ours is ours but what's yours we'll have to see about. There is a problem and it must be resolved. Nobody is denying it. But it must be resolved not in the language of ultimatums but in the language of compromise, agreement, and diplomacy.

There were other prominent talks last week, talks of course between China and the Soviet Union at deputy foreign minister level on the Cambodian problem. We have not discussed this problem with our Chinese comrades before. You know that the Soviet Union is not involved in this conflict but we have good relations both with Phnom Penh and Hanoi, and we aspire toward good relations with China. I think that it now looks as if the Cambodia equation is beginning to give way to solution. Positions are changing. Perhaps at first sight they are not all that noticeable but they are noticeable nonetheless. First, Hanoi is saying that by 1990 Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia. That is a serious position. Next, all sides recognize the role of Prince Sihanouk. That too is not bad. It looks as if China now understands that Pol Pot will not return to the political scene. So there is a ray of hope here and it is possible that some solution will be found.

However, if, of course, the events of the week are assessed as some kind of whole, and particularly Soviet-U.S. contacts—as you know that a fairly animated discussion has taken place here in Moscow with representatives of the U.S. State Department on regional conflicts—and setting that alongside what happened in Geneva, I think that we have ever more grounds for saying that the Americans are, evidently, not prepared to come to a major agreement before the end of the year on strategic offensive weapons. I apologize for going back to what was talked of in Geneva but this is obviously necessary. You can see, this is a kind of clear signal for us that working out an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons will have to be done with the next U.S. Administration. This does not of course mean that everything in Geneva should be frozen; this work will be continued and the distance that can be covered should be covered, and this year.

All the same, though, autumn 1988 has arrived and it will to a great extent be a European autumn. The Europeans have something to talk about and there is a good basis for these talks. I have in mind primarily the important ideas expressed at the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. I have in mind the useful ideas of other countries of Western and Eastern Europe, particularly the recent thoughts expressed at the congress of the West German Social Democrats. These were very interesting thoughts that were exprssed at that congress. There are also local ideas, modest perhaps. In particular, the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to reduce an appropriate number of its military aircraft in the European zone in the event of the United States' renouncing a transfer of its F-16 bombers from bases in Spain to bases in Italy. However, our proposals were coldly received. Well, cold's cold but if there are doubts, let us discuss them; let us look for other versions. But we don't hear any other versions.

Journal Cited on Pact, NATO Military Doctrines

LD0509114688 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The KOMMUNIST journal has identified the course of preventing war, which has been formulated as top priority for Soviet foreign policy, as a fundamentally new linchpin of the Soviet military doctrine.

Writing in its latest issue, the journal said the military doctrine of socialism stressed the need to maintain parity at an ever lower level down to the limits of sufficiency required exceptionally for defense.

It explained that this should be understood as such an amount and such a quality of arms and armed forces as do not exceed the limits that are absolutely indispensable to defense but clearly insufficient for any aggressive purposes.

The Soviet Union, KOMMUNIST continued, keeps its development of strategic arms strictly commensurate with purely defensive tasks.

The limits of sufficiency for defense are dictated not only by the objectives of the Soviet military doctrine but also by the level and nature of the external threat, the article noted.

The Warsaw Treaty countries have serious grounds for questioning Western claims about the defensive nature of the military doctrine of the United States and NATO.

Statements by military leaders from NATO countries make it clear that there are doubts in the West about the nature of the military doctrine of the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty as well.

This is why it was suggested at a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries' Political Consultative Committee in Berlin in May last year that qualified experts from both alliances get together to begin an objective and impartial discussion of the substance and thrust of the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Defensive sufficiency—a key element of the military doctrine of socialism—presupposes renouncing any first use of military force, preserving the strategic military balance at the lowest possible level, effecting mutual cuts in arms down to a level where neither side will have a physical possibility to stage an attack, bringing the structure of the armed forces and their arms and deployments in line with defensive needs, and exercising strict control over the reduction of armed forces and armaments and over military activities.

The KOMMUNIST article stressed drastic cuts in the non-nuclear potentials of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty among the priorities of decisive significance to the military-political climate on the planet.

Delegation Head Cited on CSCE Talks Progress

LD0509203488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] After a brief recess, talks have resumed in Vienna between member countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

[Begin recording] [V. Mikheyev, identified by caption] Consultations between the member countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO for preparing new talks on the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe are being held simultaneously within the framework of the Vienna meeting. At what stage are these consultations now? What has already been agreed specifically? What is yet to be agreed? Ambassador Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the forum, answers these questions:

[Kashlev] This is not a simple matter, the reason being not only geographical or all-European complexities, so to speak, but also the complexity of the subject itself of the talks, the existing differences, asymmetries, and imbalances in the troops and arms. All these are objective phenomena that we propose to eliminate so that we could then move on to radical reductions of troops and arms in Europe. In the course of consultations we have already managed to agree on a number of important elements of the mandate, such as the common goals of the talks, the number of participants—23 Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries will be participating—monitoring, information exchange, organizational and procedural conditions of the talks, and so on. In the next week, mainly two major remaining questions, are to be solved. They include precisely what arms and troops are to be reduced and the precise zone of the talks. [end recording]

'Top Priority' Views Arms Talks, U.S. Ties

LD0309175488 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Sep 88

["Top Priority" program hosted by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov—recorded]

[Text] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority." I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, and together with me here in the studio are Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov.

Now, as we look at some of the news coming from the field of arms control, I think we receive it with mixed feelings, those of satisfaction and concern. Here's a brief rundown of some of the events, if you'll permit me, gentlemen. First of all, the White House has issued a statement marking the 25th anniversary of the establishment of a hot line between Moscow and Washington to reduce the risk of nuclear war, and this line has been

upgraded since then. Then, the two sides have resumed talks on banning nuclear tests. Another important event, very important event in my view, is that we've had the first, the initial, of 60 days of what is known as so-called "base-line inspections" under the INF Treaty. And finally there was a flare-up of tension, diplomatic tension, there was a row and an exchange of finger-pointing and accusations in connection with the ABM Treaty. They surfaced after a regular 1-week conference reviewing the ABM Treaty; and such conferences are held once every 5 years.

Now what is the pattern in U.S.-Soviet relations? It seems to be moving in a zigzag pattern from something that's good to something that's not so good and encouraging. Who'd like to begin?

[Bogdanov] Well, Pavel, Pavel, if we hear your very optimistic account of the state of Soviet-American relations in the arms control...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Do you include a flare-up of tension which I also mentioned in the optimistic, in the optimistic talk?

[Bogdanov] Well, I, I, by the way I do not agree very much with you that there is some flare-up of tension in the Soviet-American...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Okay, a round, an exchange of accusations.

[Bogdanov] I'm more, yeah, I'm, I'm more, you know, let me put it that way. I, I believe this is really normal state of the Soviet-American relations in the time of presidential election campaign, and as an old hand in the American domestic problems—and I believe Sergey will support me—we have a tendency to explain all the events, including arms control and what you call the tension in the Soviet-American relations, (?are) rooted in the election, presidential campaign. That's the point number one I would like to call your attention to.

[Kuznetsov] Well, I, I disagree with you...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Number - yes! I - yes!

[Kuznetsov] I disagree because the Krasnoyarsk radar, and the American record on the ABM Treaty has a long history, at least a history of several years; it has nothing to with the presidential election.

[Bogdanov] You have Pavel, I agree with you, you have very long history, but any history including that history has to be analyzed.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, that's what I'm asking you to do!

[Bogdanov] Yes. And that history has its own ups and downs. And when you have somebody interested in the American and to, to make Soviet-American relations little bit hot, you have Krasnoyarsk radar station. I'm little bit, you know, my point is that still some people (?at) the American end are using the fact that they deal with uninformed public opinion. Krasnoyarsk radar station does not function, because if you read American papers, and if you hear the American statements, you may have an impression that it has been functioning to the full extent. That is something ominous. [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] We've introduced a moratorium.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, but they don't talk about moratorium, and they don't talk about the very important fact that sometime ago, a group of very important American congressmen, experts on arms control, have visited that station, and they made a comprehensive report on that, with very interesting conclusions; for instance, that it is in such a state, it is, has not been equipped with the special installations that you may claim. It has been some radar, radar thing or something, something like that.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah, it's not equipped with the means of tracking missiles, let alone shooting them down. Okay. I'd like you, Sergey, to share your impressions on the current misunderstanding or disagreement on the ABM Treaty, and give us some background.

[Plekhanov] That's a long story, which is difficult to make short but I'll give, I'll do my best. The ABM Treaty was signed in 1972, and this is virtually the mainstay of the arms control process. It, the meaning of the treaty is that both sides refrained from constructing systems for the defense of the territory of each side, of each country, against ballistic missiles. It was realized that creating such a shield would be both impractical and dangerous in terms of creating suspicions and tensions between the two sides. And the language of the treaty is quite clear. And it includes a ban on the construction of space-borne ABM systems—not only land-based, but air-based and space-based. The only thing that the ABM Treaty allows is the maintenance and some modernization of the existing ABM systems which were in existence in 1972, which were to defend certain sites—one site in the United States, one site in the Soviet Union—against incoming missiles.

[Kuznetsov] Excuse me. I also think that the treaty allows each side to build similar stations, but only on the periphery of its territory, and facing outward, for them to be able to warn about an attack, but not to be able to assist in shooting missiles down.

[Plekhanov] Right, that's, that's...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] But the Krasnoyarsk radar station is inside Soviet territory. That's why so much fuss.

[Plekhanov] Yes, well, that's a very very complicated thing. Whether a given radar can be used in a theoretical ABM system is a question that has been debated hotly by both sides. The United States has several radars of this kind, a couple on the American territory, one in Greenland, and one in Britain. The Greenland and Britain ones are being modernized right now, and in the view of our experts, that constitutes a violation of the ABM system, the SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative], which the ABM Treaty so explicitly bans. So we draw attention of the American side to that violation, while the United States is using the Krasnoyarsk radar as an example of the Soviet, quote, violation, unquote. But, you see, the point is that there is a way out of these differences, if both sides agree to keep the ABM Treaty intact for...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] (?X number) of years.

[Bogdanov] That's the major, my main point, the main thing!

[Plekhanov] The big, the big question is: Do we destroy the ABM Treaty or do we keep the ABM Treaty? And I think that in the United States right now, some forces in the Reagan administration are very much worried that after November, or after Janury, when the new administration comes to power, whether it be a Democratic or Republican, that there will be less likelihood that the ABM Treaty will be destroyed. So they are getting nervous, and they are looking for ways to destroy the ABM Treaty before the election.

[Kuznetsov] Before then, so are you suggesting that may be using the Krasnoyarsk radar station as a pretext for abrogating the treaty, for terminating their participation in it?

[Plekhanov] Yep, that may reflect...that's the worst case scenario...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] May, may be the case.

[Plekhanov] There is a suspicion.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, another point.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, Dr Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov] That this administration has been paralyzed now, unfortunately, by their, not only by the election campaign, but by the inner, inner struggle, if you like, inner struggle. They are not able to deliver at the Geneva table. That's why they're looking for some excuse, for some explanation for their own public opinion, why they're not moving in Geneva. That's why they put that condition.

[Kuznetsov] Oh yes, they, there is a link between the two facts.

[Bogdanov] They explicitly link two things: You destroy Krasnoyarsk radar, then we may move little bit, or whatever it is, in the arms control. Which is not fair at all! And to my mind this is very sheer example of ideological approach to foreign policy, and to the arms control business, which is spoiling everything.

[Kuznetsov] Let me go back to this 1-week conference that reviewed the ABM Treaty and compare it with this very encouraging initial stage of baseline inspections. As you know, the United States has begun withdrawing some of its Pershing-2 missiles from West Germany, and these missiles are going to be destroyed on U.S. territory, and we've already destroyed some of our medium- and shorter-range missiles, by exploding them in packs, in blocks, and packs of three. The Americans are going to launch their missiles without warheads. We're also expected to do that. What is so encouraging about this period is that both sides praised each other for a very professional, for a very knowledgeable approach to the INF Treaty. The numbers matched, the locations matched, the arsenals matched, there was not a single case of accusation of cheating. We've proven that we can do business together; there was a lot of cohesion and teamwork. Why is this quarrel over the ABM Treaty?

Is it partially because it was signed by a different crop of leaders, because we were less determined at that time to pursue arms control, or perhaps the verification procedures worked out 16 years ago were inadequate? You've partially answered this question, referring to the presidential campaign, but perhaps there are some other reasons for (?this).

[Bogdanov] I have an impression that, if American public, or political elite, were in concensus, their business would be much easier than it is now. What do I mean by that? You have very different sections of opinion about the future of this strategic shield, or whatever you call it, a very big range of opinions ranging from absolute no, it's not possible, to some doubt but let's try. But you have a bunch of people, ideologically minded, ideologically devoted to that. I understand them, by the way. I don't accuse them; I just, put in that, you know, in that way, trying to explain to ourselves, to myself, and there, as Sergey put it, and I agree with him. This is very crucial time—presidential election—who is coming to win the White House; we don't know. If you take the latest Vice President Bush statement on SDI, it's something very ambiguous, I think.

[Kuznetsov] Yeah.

[Bogdanov] Very ambiguous.

[Plekhanov] And more cautious, I would say.

[Bogdanov] More cautious and very ambiguous, and if I were at the other end of the spectrum, I would have got worried as they did.

[Kuznetsov] Well, they did get worried! Sure.

[Bogdanov] They, they did worry. But you know, I still think that that will pass away. What will stay, what you have said, very positive results of arms control, if you like, unbelievable results of the arms control business reached so far.

[Kuznetsov] I believe that when the ABM Treaty was signed back in 1972, both countries were kind of deadlocked. There were no exotic technologies at hand, and nobody could foresee that such technology, technologies, would appear pretty soon. And do you agree with me that perhaps the current difficulties with SDI, with the ABM Treaty, stem from the fact that, a feeling that, the country is in the lead, in the technological, leading the Soviet Union in this technological race. The [word indistinct] would like to go ahead, to proceed with the Strategic Defense Initiative to continue exerting pressure—financial, political, economic—on the Soviet Union, and that is why they still believe that the SDI, the SDI as a national shield, is feasible. Would you agree with that, (?Sergey)?

[Plekhanov] I think there is temptation, almost an irrational temptation, and also a traditional American faith, in the wonders of technology, that with the American know-how you can do everything. But serious students of the matter, serious experts on these questions have long come to the conclusion that the idea of a shield covering the territory of the United States and protecting it against ballistic missiles is simply a fairytale. There's no way that such a thing can be constructed, given the foreseeable economic and technical possibilities of the United States, or any other country. It can't be built by either the United States or the Soviet Union. There is another thing; there is another view that, well, you don't really have to build a complete shield; what you have to do is build something smaller than that.

[Bogdanov] That is called a point defense.

[Plekhanov] Point defense to defend the ballistic missiles against the enemy's ballistic missiles.

[Bogdanov] Not the population.

[Plekhanov] But that creates an absolutely different situation, and then, you lose the public support because the beauty of the original SDI, a shield over the territory of the United States, was precisely that it would help protect the population. Now if you simply protect weapons against weapons, that's a different story, and then the whole range of arguments. You really can't do that either, because even if you build a very sophisticated defense, there will be enough missiles left on the other side to make post-nuclear life in the country that would be hit absolutely impossible. So, you know, no matter how you look at it, if you're a realist, if you're sober-minded, and if you're not crazy about technology, you come to the conclusion that this is just a boondoggle, and something that is to be done for other things than real security.

[Kuznetsov] Real security, real defense. As time is running out on us, I'd like to ask this question. In a number of statements—well, take the the news agency TASS or a statement made the other day in Geneva by one of our chief arms control negotiators, Viktor Karpov—the Soviet Union said that it has its own grievances, and it has its own concerns with regard to, not only to the American stance and practical steps, but to their intentions. And when we approach the American side and we'd like them to clarify our concerns and grievances, we are stonewalled. We don't have, we don't get a positive response. And I don't see how this squares with what seems to be a very good new trend of greater openness in the military field. Suffice it to recall the visit here by Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, or, say, the trip to the United States of Marshal Akhromeyev of the Soviet General Staff.

[Bogdanov] There is only, to my mind, there's only one reason, which is in the domestic American situation. And mind you Pavel, maybe for the first time for so many years, this committee's proceedings ended without any common document. Parties could not come to any agreement, and they came...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] ...Out with separate statements.

[Bogdanov] Separate statements. Does it mean what? That the American side was so much afraid even by the fact that kind of a joint communique or joint statement is made that people back home may think, some people, that there is some agreement between Russians and Americans on SDI problem, that they said no, this time, no common statement. I look at that from the point of view of the division in their own ranks.

[Plekhanov] I agree with Dr Bogdanov. The administration's paralyzed, and there are all kinds of voices being heard within the administration, and I'm afraid that the administration is proving incapable of managing the process of Soviet-American relations which has been started in recent years between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan; the process of improvement. We really entered a new phase in Soviet-American relations, but this administration is proving incapable of managing relations in these (?things). They are tangled in their own contradictions, because on the one hand they want to continue the old, you know, beat the Russians; saying on the other hand they want to talk with the Russians and sign agreements with them. And there are times when you have to choose.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you very much, gentlemen, for coming and sharing your views on Top Priorty. I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, signing off till next week, at the same time, and on the same wavelength. Thank you on behalf of our team.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'
LD0409191588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 4 Sep 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political correspondent; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. This week there have been no events that you could call sensational and yet processes have been going on that inspire hope and open up certain prospects for the disentangling of some very complicated knots. I am referring to the numerous talks that have been taking place in various cities of the world—talks aimed at freeing from deadlock and finally solving the regional conflicts that have darkened the international climate for many years.

I had a look to see how long these conflicts have lasted, and the figures turned out to be very significant: The Iran-Iraq war, 8 years; the civil war in Angola, aggravated by South African interference, 13 years; the clashes between the Polisario Front and Morocco, 12 years; Cyprus has been divided for 14 years; in Afghanistan, almost 10 years; in Cambodia, it's also into its 10th year. And now, some of the conflicts have led to reconciliation—to a cease-fire, shall we say. But now there is also beginning to be some prospect for a political settlement of these issues.

[Bovin] I'd put it this way, that the door is beginning to open just a little.

[Levin] Yes, I agree that here we have to be cautious in our assessments, because the process that lies ahead is very complex. But the very fact that, say, on the Iran-Iraq front the sides are reproaching each other with breaking the cease-fire agreement, but there's no longer a full-scale war there, this is already a hopeful sign, though undoubtedly the way forward is very long and very difficult.

[Shishlin] You've been saying, Viktor Nikolayevich, that all these talks inspire hope. But I think our listeners know the saying that the last thing people give up is hope. So hope—of something better—has always existed. For myself, I think these talks that have been taking place are on very different planes and are progressing in various degrees. Take for example the meeting between the deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Rogachev, and the Chinese vice minister of foreign affairs—I apologize to listeners, I'm afraid I've forgotten his name.

[Levin] His name is Tian Zengpei.

[Shishlin] Yes. For the first time, the Soviet Union and China are directly discussing the Cambodian problem. And they're doing so on the understanding that the Soviet Union and China are not immediately and directly involved in the conflict. And...

[Bovin, interrupting] But we do need to remind our listeners at this point that for the Chinese the problem of Cambodia, as well as the problem of Afghanistan, has always been on the list of the great...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Yes.

[Bovin, continuing] ...political obstacles hindering the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Shishlin] Thank you for reminding me of the prehistory of this issue. I think, however, that the very fact of a meeting between the Soviet and Chinese deputy foreign ministers is evidence not only of the possibility of finding some solution to this Cambodian equation, but also of a process of a certain improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. The final communique, with which our listeners will already be familiar from the press, notes that our approaches remain different as regards some aspects of a Cambodian settlement, but that at the same time there has been a rapprochement of positions. This is a case in which the language of diplomacy says more than is customarily contained in these streamlined formulas. So here I think, Viktor Nikolayevich, the hope has been strengthened. [Bovin] I'd like to take this particular topic a little bit further, since, you know, there's been a very interesting change here. Our friends the Chinese, of course, have always supported Pol Pot. Now one of the difficulties of a settlement in Cambodia is what role the Pol Pot group will play in Cambodia in the future. This is a little embarassing for everyone, not only the present leadership even, but also Sihanouk and his other colleagues there in the coalition, because...

[Levin, interrupting] Embarrasing is actually putting it very mildly.

[Bovin, continuing] ... militarily they have quite a lot of clout, still; and the fear is that they might be over-zealous on returning to power. And here—and here—the situation will largely depend on the attitude of China. Everyone realizes this, so although formally China—like ourselves—is not taking part in this, as it were, apportionment, much will depend here on China, and this is a very relevant factor. Yet on the other hand, I think the Vietnamese have become sufficiently aware of the need for a political solution. Ten years have passed and the military operations are in fact continuing, so the issue can't be solved in that way, and they're going—50 percent of the troops have already been withdrawn from there, by the way, as you know.

[Levin] (?How many thousand) troops?

[Bovin] Fifty thousand. The fact that there's been an unofficial meeting in Jakarta—well, formally it hasn't ended in any sort of progress, as it were, but in any case all the sides involved in the conflict have agreed to continue these discussions—that's the important thing.

[Shishlin] But it's also important, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, that Beijing's position is changing, and ...

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, to a certain extent, yes, yes, certainly. Certainly.

[Shishlin, continuing] ...the Chinese are now relinquishing their absolute support of the Khmer Rouge and of Pol Pot as a political figure.

[Bovin] Yes, I think so. Perhaps they don't say so in so many words, but certainly that's the feeling one gets.

[Shishlin] And then, everyone now acknowledges the role of Sihanouk, that he is, well, in some sense a moderator of the Cambodian problem, and a figure who could play a positive part in forming a coalition government.

[Bovin] Incidentally, he was the loser recently and had to resign.

[Shishlin] Not for the first time.

[Bovin] Yes. Well, to draw attention to himself, he resigned, and was close to that meeting, spinning his political lace there. Well, anyway, let us hope that it was to some effect.

[Shishlin] To some effect.

[Levin] And I would add that there was an interview—a very notable one, I think—with Nguyen Co Thach, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of Vietnam, dealing with these very problems. He said, plainly, that in general all the interested parties agree that the key elements of the international aspect of a Cambodian settlement are the following: First, the timetable for the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops must be linked to a cessation of the deliveries of arms to the opposition Khmer groups and outside interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. Second, foreign states must respect an independent, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia. Third, the sides have agreed that fulfillment of the accords on the international aspect will be supervised by an international commission.

And there's a very interesting question concerning the timing of the withdrawals of Vietnamese troops. There's a proposal that these troops should be withdrawn over a period of 9 months from the signing of the agreement. At the same time, Cambodia—the People's Republic of Kampuchea—and Vietnam have proposed taking as the crucial date the end of 1989 or, at the latest, the first quarter of 1990. Prince Sihanouk has proposed two phases of withdrawal: The first in June 1989 and the second at the end of 1989. Then comes a sentence that seems to me very significant on the lips of the head of the foreign policy department: The disagreements on this point are not great and can be resolved by negotiation. It looks as if there's a perfectly realistic possibility of the Vietnamese troops pulling out next year.

[Shishlin] Well, in a general way one can consider that some sort of progress is being made on a Cambodian settlement. But as for the other talks you mentioned, Viktor Nikolayevich—the talks between Iran and Iraq, with the participation of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar—there the talks in themselves have shown not so much the possibilities of firmly establishing peace between Iran and Iraq, but rather—at this stage at least—the difficulties of achieving an accord.

[Bovin] Emotions are boiling over. What's the dispute about? The Iraqis are saying: first you can stop examining our ships passing through the Gulf. Well, that might seem logical. There's been a cease-fire, so why examine them? But the others say: no—first you've got to vacate some area of territory, then we'll continue the talks. In other words, each is stipulating conditions—and everything is revolving around that.

[Shishlin] Well, there are some small further details that are perhaps worth reporting. Baghdad's position is this: That Iran must now clear the mines from the mouth of the Shatt al-'Arab. These are heavily mined areas where of course no vessel could now pass.

[Bovin] And there are also sunken ships in the channel.

[Shishlin] Yes. And Iran says: Yes, of course, we'll have to create conditions for navigation through the Shatt al-'Arab—but after everything to do with the cease-fire has been worked out. You were right, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, to remind us that Iraq is still, after all, holding on to a small portion of Iranian territory and is still not withdrawing its forces. Although you might think that now that there is a cease-fire and both sides would appear to understand that there is no other way, still the situation that has been developing in recent days is pretty discouraging. Menacing speeches are being made again in Tehran and as for Baghdad, it is intoxicated with the days that preceded the cease-fire, believing that it has enough military potential to go back where it was. Although, as a matter of fact, there are no winners in that war and both Iran and Iraq are the losers, of course.

[Levin] The situation is also compounded by the issue of exchanging POW's. Here, too, there is a dispute as to what has to come first, what has to follow. In the meantime, according to the International Red Cross, there are 50,182 Iraqis in Iran as prisoners of war at present, and 19,182 Iranians in Iraq, although the International Red Cross itself considers these figures to be

incomplete. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar speaks of both sides having more than 80,000 POW's each. But one way or another, their fate must also be resolved.

[Shishlin] One would still hope that each of the sides has enough sense to put an end to all that; and as to United Nations, it is doing everything in its power to bring that about.

[Bovin] Here, I am optimistic to some extent.

[Levin] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, Perez de Cuellar himself defined his position in a slightly different way, he said: I am not an optimist but a realist.

[Shishlin] Nevertheless, I am more than at one with Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, because, naturally, there is simply no other choice, no other choice. That is why both 'Aziz who represents Iraq at the talks and Velayati who represents Iran at the talks are saying that they are prepared to stay in Geneva as long as necessary.

[Levin] I think that what is also not of least importance is the fact that the international community is by and large sufficiently unanimous in insisting that the settlement there should be lasting and stable. Not only the near neighbors but also the far ones and even those who are very far from that region have long been, as they say, fed up with that war.

[Shishlin] And also other talks, the talks that are being conducted among Angola, the RSA, Cuba, and the United States, those talks have already been marked, of course, with substantial progress as far the situation (?in Angola) is concerned.

[Bovin] So, there was an Angolan and a South African standing on top of a hill, standing and watching the last RSA troops leave Angola, which is also indicative in itself. Although they had placards saying "We are leaving with victory," "We have won"—all that was there—but the fact remains that they were leaving and that Cubans, Angolans, and South Africans were there to observe in agreement. And a group of officers was there to observe the departure—a very interesting fact. As regards the future, I am hard put to imagine how the South Africans are going to leave Namibia, for that would be for them, let us say, a sharp knife in the heart.

[Shishlin] A rather complex political game will be played there, relying on the forces that have been cooperating with the RSA for a long time—I mean local Namibian forces.

[Bovin] Yes, yes, of course, that's the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

[Shishlin] Yes.

[Levin] But there is one more issue at stake there, the issue that is now being brought to the fore by the South Africans with particular diligence. That is the issue of withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola.

[Bovin] But theoretically that issue has been resolved: The Cubans have agreed in principle to pull out of Angola.

[Levin] In principle, yes. But here before me is a statement by Antonio dos Santos Franca, chief of staff of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola. He states bluntly that the Angolans are not going to sacrifice their security, getting nothing in exchange. And he links the possibility of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops with cessation of the U.S. aid to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

[Bovin] That marks the emergence of a new factor, because in the talks that have been conducted, the factor of UNITA was not officially present. But, apparently, it is a real factor and it will keep cropping up, so to speak. What is also interesting here is that we are not officially playing that game either. But in fact, we have the status of an unofficial observer of a kind at those talks, and, in general, it is noteworthy that the world press has noted the positive impact of the Soviet Union on the progress of these negotiations among the Angolans, Cubans, South Africans, and Americans.

[Shishlin] And it also must be noted, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, that we have not made any bones about the fact that we have been, and are, rendering aid to Angola, have been, and are, rendering aid to Mozambique—economic, political, and military aid.

[Bovin] But of course.

[Levin, laughing] Indeed we have!

[Shishlin] That is a secret to no one and we are indeed interested in independent states remaining independent, in political stability asserting itself in that area of the world. While rendering aid to these countries at present, we, naturally, are directing our potential toward the use of political means, in order to thaw this completely stiff situation and to find a solution that would agree with the interests of Angola and Mozambique and the Frontline States, and, naturally, the interests of Namibian independence. I would like to say in this connection that the question of our attitude to apartheid in the RSA may arise. It is as negative as it was in the past, but we are well aware of the fact that these problems of the RSA can hardly be resolved purely by weapons, purely by armed violence.

[Bovin] I am going to say something that might sound—well, radical, perhaps. I do not know what to call it. But I, for example, wouldn't hesitate to weigh, or at least, look into, the prospect of our country restoring relations with the RSA, diplomatic relations. At the moment that

could look somewhat bizarre, but the fact remains that we have been losing political influence. We will have to define ourselves in a way down there in the south, because is it war that is needed there or what? You have been saying yourselves that it is not needed, but some political option is needed there. The fact that we are not there does not improve the situation. So, here is an issue worth reflecting upon.

[Shishlin] I believe that there is really an issue there, but, just like any fruit, it must get ripe first. It is as simple as that.

[Bovin] Yes, it must ripen, of course, I can also see that. But what is important is that the fruit should gradually become sweeter and sweeter.

[Levin] I would like to get back to precisely the problem of UNITA, for that is not a simple problem, and when we say that the civil war in Angola has been going on for 13 years—the RSA interference has compounded it, altered its nature, but that civil war in itself does exist—in order to put an end to it, the issue should be tackled by more than one side. It appears to me in this connection that...

[Bovin, interrupting] But the specific nature of the situation here lies in the fact that the Angolan leadership rejects the Afghan model of resolving the problem, that is the national reconciliation model. That fact has to be reckoned with.

[Levin] Well, since you have mentioned Afghanistan and I spoke of UNITA enjoying the support of the United States, it would also probably be proper for us to dwell on the way the national reconciliation process in Afghanistan is being implemented and what difficulties are arising. On top of that, if one is to believe the reports in THE WASHINGTON POST, the United States has made changes in its policy of supplying weapons to the Afghan rebels and is now rerouting the bulk of those cargoes directly to the forces that are active within Afghanistan.

[Bovin] Yes, I have read that, though I cannot imagine how it is done in practical terms, whether it drops it by parachute or lands helicopters there—in technical terms, I do not know. One should be able to conceive it in technical terms, for in the past it unloaded it in Pakistan, and Pakistan distributed it in camps. For the time being, I have simply no idea how it is doing it at present, but technology has long since made it possible, and it probably...

[Levin, interrupting] But if we take the political and not the technical side of the issue.

[Shishlin] Well, these are Americans, this is typical of them, this is something they can do.

[Levin] But the United States acts as a guarantor, just as the Soviet Union, of the Geneva accords.

[Shishlin] Well, there is, though, one little ruse on their part and we act as if we didn't see it: The positive symmetry. They said the following: As long as you help Kabul, we will help the mujahidin. Our position does not recognize the symmetry: One is the legitimate government and the other is illegal. But that is our position. In reality its guarantees are based on the positive symmetry. This was said in Geneva; we might not agree with that, but in reality there is this situation, so to speak. It has now made so much noise about the fact that our aircraft helped in Konduz from our territory.

[Levin] But the only thing here, perhaps, that I would state with regret is that we only learned of it from the replies to the statements by the Western press. Why should it not have been reported as soon as it happened?

[Bovin] Well, you know, we are learning glasnost but it means that we have not quite learned it yet. Everything that goes on in Afghanistan is extremely complicated and what can one expect here from the Americans? Naturally they are interested in us having as much trouble there as possible. And that is precisely what they are doing there. That is their policy line, which can be explained in very simple terms: They want us to be as hard pressed there as possible.

[Shishlin] I would like to draw attention to another aspect. I believe that no matter with what difficulties the process of political settlement in Afghanistan proceeds, no matter what obstacles it has to face—and the obstacles are great, and you know that rockets are fired everyday at Kabul and other population centers of that country, you know that obstacles are also being put in the way of the return of the refugees, and military operations are still going on in that long-suffering country.

But nonetheless, returning mentally to 2 years ago when the policy of national reconciliation was announced, I think all the same about the international influence of this approach and the international influence of these decisions.

[Bovin] It is proceeding with difficulty. Of course, there's no denying it—with difficulty—and to paint rosy pictures and rosy prospects here would simply not be serious, but the fact that this is a road truly leading to sensible solutions is indisputable.

[Shishlin] Theoretically, yes.

[Levin] I think that it is not excluded that this growing U.S. activity in Afghanistan in the context of weapon deliveries can also be explained, not in the last instance, by the fact that at the moment the Americans have quite a few problems in Pakistan.

[Bovin] No. Let's take a realistic look again. We have this habit...[changes thought] our relations with the United States have improved and now somehow the picture of an enemy has turned into a picture of friend—isn't that

so? But you see the Reagan doctrine really exists. It hasn't gone away. It also exists at the present time, to the effect that the United States will help all counterrevolutionary groups which, so to speak, come out against Marxist regimes. All of that remains. We have simply stopped writing about it.

[Shishlin] Some do write, some do write...

[Bovin, interrupting] But Nikolay Vladimirovich, you know as well as I do that they write far less than before. Afghanistan is a typical example of this same doctrine in action and here it is in action, this doctrine.

[Shishlin] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, I agree, but I think that an additional stimulus to the stepping up of U.S. activity in Afghanistan now is what has happened in Pakistan and the fact that there is a certain amount of uncertainty and a desire to reinforce oneself...

[Bovin, interrupting] Well of course, of course, of course, of course.

[Shishlin] You see the fact remains that Ziaul Haq was a true, reliable, and stable partner...

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes. I absolutely agree with you. The uncertainty there is great.

[Shishlin] What will happen tomorrow...

[Bovin, interrupting] Benazir Bhutto has taken there, I would say, a position of: Attention! Because on 16 November, if nothing goes wrong, there will be elections to the National Assembly and the new president seems even to have hinted that well, I do not exclude elections on a party basis and here of course the Benazir Bhutto group will obviously try to win back some kind of major points. The military appears to have stated—at least the land forces—that they will not interfere in the political process. So you see what truly new things are taking place in Pakistan and undoubtedly this worries the Americans.

[Levin] This worries many, but in general, if you take the root of the problems, then they lie in the fact that the harsh and severe military dictatorship of Ziaul Haq and the policy of Islamization which he began to conduct clashed with the interests of a great many inhabitants of that country. Economic problems are extremely acute in Pakistan. The British FINANCIAL TIMES newspaper recently wrote that Pakistan is one of the poorest countries in the world. The population of the country comes to 101 million and what, moreover, draws attention is the fact that this population grows every year by approximately 3.1 percent, while other figures show the difficult situation that population finds itself in. Just 28 percent of Pakistanis are literate. Only half of the country's inhabitants have direct access to drinking water. Debts and military expenditure come to 70 percent of the budget. And by the way, this problem of Islamization—it is certainly not perceived in the same way by everybody.

Ziaul Haq represented the Wahabi people. This is one of three main sects—if you can put it that way—in the Muslim religion. Moreover, the Wahabis are a minority in Pakistan. The majority are Shi'ites and Sunnis and while between the Sunnis and Wahabis relations are still more or less equal, the Shi'ites simply fiercely hate the Wahabis and this also makes itself felt. Therefore, when such an unforeseen situation has now arisen—when Ziaul Haq has unexpectedly left the arena—wicked tongues are saying that the plane was shot down by one of the Stinger missiles that are so generously supplied by the Americans to the Afghan counterrevolution. There are grounds for such assertions, although the refutations also look quite weighty. Today at least one cannot say with conviction what caused the catastrophe of the plane in which Ziaul Haq was flying, with the British—sorry, the U.S.—ambassador and others.

As a result of this situation, as a result of the departure from the arena of Ziaul Haq, his unexpected departure from the arena, the situation has heated up sharply and what will happen further is very, very speculative; but it seems that the end has come for the dictatorial regime in Pakistan, at least as far as can be discerned today.

[Bovin] All dictatorships are an unfashionable thing at the moment. You see what is happening in Burma and the demonstrations that are taking place again in Santiago, in Chile.

[Shishlin] This is probably also connected with the general international political climate.

[Bovin] Undoubtedly, undoubtedly, but here you see, the Americans are also saying how good it is that a democratic wave is taking place, and we are also saying how good it is. But you see what comes of it.

[Levin] Yes, but they want Pinochet to remain in power.

[Bovin] Yes. Yes.

[Levin] They would have had nothing against dropping Ziaul Haq.

[Bovin] Incidentally...

[Levin, interrupting] The economic factors all speak against this. The political ones also. But to talk about Burma, the situation there is generally simply critical. Suffice it to say that last year the United Nations officially listed Burma in the category of least developed countries, that is, the poorest countries. Indeed the country has been brought, as they say, to the end of its tether. At one time Burma was the granary of Southeast Asia. It exported 2 million tonnes of rice per annum.

Now there is simply no question of exports. There is hardly enough rice—to put it bluntly there isn't enough—for the country itself. This is clearly shown by the fact that last year, in just 1 year, the price of rice rose 400 percent. Of course the people could tolerate such a situation for a long time but not indefinitely and now the end has clearly come to this tolerance.

[Bovin] I remember our beloved friend U Nu—the poor fellow's 82, now he is quite old—and he has once more, so to speak, appeared on the scene, and although it is forbidden by the constitution, he has already organized a temporary opposition party, becoming its honorary patron and has put himself forward again into the front ranks of politicians together with a group of, so to speak, friends. We'll put it that way.

[Shishlin] I would like to return to the subject with which we began, the subject of regional conflicts. It seems to me in this respect that 1988, although several months still lie ahead to the end of this year, has become noteworthy in that regional conflicts are truly becoming unfrozen.

[Bovin] All of this is one of the general tendencies, if you like, of the development of international relations at this time and it is very good that it is taking place. Undoubtedly. These are ripples circling out from the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations in general.

[Levin] One of the very big ripples this week, again, is the fact that the Americans have also begun implementing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. We began this process earlier. This is explained by the fact that we have to destroy more missiles. But this week, on 1 September, the Americans removed the first Pershing 2's from the West German base near Waldheide.

[Bovin] As they say, may God give them good health; may they continue to remove them.

[Levin] And may they go on removing them. They will be shipped to the United States where they will be destroyed. So that as a whole, despite the fact that there naturally remain many problems in the world and they will always exist—the world, unfortunately, is still far from ideal—there are very clear roads to resolving these problems, and grounds for realistic optimism—I would put it that way—are fully there. On that note, esteemed comrades, we wish to thank you for your attention. All the best. Goodbye.

United States & Canada

Soviet-U.S. Talks Focus on Regional Conflicts

PM0509130188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Routine Soviet-U.S. consultations on issues concerning conflicts in various regions of the world were held in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 31 August to 2 September. The Soviet participants were USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and Deputy Ministers Anatoliy Adamishin, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Viktor Komplektov, and Igor Rogachev. The U.S. participants were Michael Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs; Peter Rodman, deputy assistant to the President for national security affairs; and Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

A broad range of problems was examined, including progress in implementing the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, of which the USSR and the United States are guarantors; and the situation in the Persian Gulf area, in the Near East, in southern Africa, in Central America, in the Asia-Pacific region, and elsewhere.

The Soviet side stressed its interest in achieving the speediest political settlement of regional conflicts with the aim of easing international tension, reinforcing security, and building an atmosphere of trust in the international arena. In this context, particular attention was paid to the need for a strict fulfillment of the Geneva accords on settling the Afghan problem by all signatory states. The hope was expressed that the U.S. side would help in the speediest release and the return home of Soviet troops taken prisoner in Afghanistan.

The two sides welcomed the end of military actions between Iran and Iraq and their entering into talks with one another, the great role of the UN secretary general in this matter, and also the progress achieved recently in settling the situation in southern Africa. Great importance was attached to the direct contacts that have begun between the four sides in Cambodia, which has marked the beginning of a new stage in the political resolution of the Cambodian problem. It was also stressed that the situations in the Near East, in Central America, in Indochina, on the Korean peninsula, and in Cyprus demand the speediest settlement.

Recognizing the usefulness of the exchange of opinions which took place in a businesslike and frank spirit, the two sides expressed their support for continuing the tried and tested practice of political consultations between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. State Department on a whole range of regional problems in the context of better clarifying each other's positions, removing the remaining divergences of approach to evaluating a number of specific conflict situations, and actively searching together for ways of settling them.

TASS Notes Reagan Radio Address, Response

LD0409082288 Moscow TASS in English 0814 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

President Reagan said that he would veto any bill on a reform of the social security system tabled by Congress if it has no provision demanding that Americans should have a job for getting welfare. The U.S. chief executive made this warning in his weekly radio address, in which he again lauded to the skies the Republican administration's economic achievements.

According to Reagan, new jobs have been created during the years of the Republican administration "in nearly all sectors of the economy" and in "every region" of the country. He also claimed that since 1981 the real income of the Americans had grown by more than ten per cent. But as is noted in the report issued this week by the U.S. Census Bureau, the income of an average American family has now reached a level comparable with that of 1973 for the first time after the economic recession of 1982, the heaviest since the time of the Great Depression of the thirties.

The President himself was forced to admit in that report that "some groups (of the U.S. population) lagged behind". He also admitted that "there are still some Americans whom our expansion has passed by." According to the Census Bureau there were 32.5 [figure as received] such people dragging on life in poverty, which is 100 thousand more than in 1986. Yet the President laid the blame for the disastrous position of the needy on the existing system of social security. "Programmes that were intended to help poor citizens, have instead made them dependent on government checks, unable to get them away from it." The President said that he would not accept any welfare reform bill unless it is geared to making people independent of welfare, which is the only source of their income.

The current administration has a sorry record on issues concerning the workers, Congressman Thomas Downy, who spoke on behalf of the Democrats, said. The facts indicate, he noted, that the five years of the economic boom, about which the President talks, have done nothing to reduce poverty in the United States, he said. Despite the low unemployment rate, 32.5 per cent Americans live in poverty. According to the congressman, the gap dividing the rich and the working people threatens to turn into an abyss. The position of an average worker in America is no better than it was ten years ago. Moreover, Downy said, the position of 40 per cent of the poorest American families, is today worse than it used to be ten years ago.

Missile Puts 'Classified Payload' Into Orbit

LD0509215088 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] San Francisco September 6 TASS—A "Titan-2" intercontinental ballistic missile was launched into space on Monday by the U.S. Air Force from Vandenberg base in California. With a referent to a statement of a spokeswoman of the U.S. Air Force, the UPI news agency reported that the missile put a classified payload into a near-earth orbit. John Pike, deputy director for space research of the Federation of American Scientists is of the opinion that this is a naval spy satellite "White Cloud" which is used by the U.S. Navy for radio electronic spying for Soviet naval ships.

The UPI news agency notes that this is the first case of the use of an intercontinental ballistic missile in the recent years for putting a U.S. satellite into space. The recourse to it was made after the catastrophe of the Challenger space shuttle and after abortive launches of other rocket boosters which virtually paralysed the implementation of the space programme of the USA. U.S. Secretary of the Air Force Edward Aldrige said that "Titan-4" and "Delta-2" missiles are planned to be used shortly to put payloads into space.

Zorin Urges U.S. To Continue Path of Accords

LD0409143488 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Commentary by political observer Valentin Zorin]

[Text] Today, in the very midst of the election campaign in the United States, many people will ask themselves what heritage will the current administration pass on to the new one. In the view of Valentin Zorin, the outgoing President's most impressive achievement is the Soviet-American agreements, first and foremost the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles which signifies the beginning of nuclear disarmament, the beginning of actual elimination of nuclear arsenals. These achievements are a valuable asset which also create for a future chief executive considerable opportunities in terms of strengthening peace and security.

At the same time there are opportunities for solving other problems as well, problems that now confront America. In particular, in the economic field the heritage left behind by the current administration will apparently not be very comforting. Experts are now calling the situation in the United States prosperity in debt. What they have in mind is the country's federal budget deficit, which is nearing the sum of $3 trillion. That's a time bomb set under the entire American economy. That means that the United States taxpayers, whether they want it or not, will have to be paying the current administration's bills for a long, long time.

Since the growing budget deficit is directly linked with the huge growth of military spending over the past few years, it's quite logical to draw the following conclusion: In order to solve the problem of the deficit it's necessary to spend less on armaments.

As I see it, Valentin Zorin writes, that's the only possible way to ensure a transition from prosperity in debt to genuine prosperity for America. Yet both main candidates for the United States presidency have so far been doing their utmost not to discuss the federal debt problem, and this apparently is beginning to worry businessmen. FORTUNE magazine, in its latest issue, has urged the candidates to stop playing the fool.

Of course, there are also other problems in America that have been inherited from the current administration. These include a weakening of American business on the international market, growing competition on the part of Japan and the Common Market; the drug problem has assumed a scope of a nationwide calamity, as well as the problem of United States interference in the affairs of Central American countries and in other parts of the world. Corruption has penetrated into the Pentagon and other echelons of government power. But, Valentin Zorin writes, however complicated these problems might be, I'm sure they can be solved provided peace is preserved and strengthened, common sense takes the upper hand in international relations, the arms race is ended and the nuclear threat removed. Under the current administration the first steps were made in this direction, and in my judgment the key question now is whether America will be able to preserve and expand such a valuable heritage as the Soviet-American accords concerning the problems of peace, security, and cooperation.

U.S. Heads List of Arms Suppliers

LD0509204988 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The United States tops the list of arms dealers and continues to consolidate its positions in this deadly business.

This brings fabulous dividends to U.S. arms-manufacturing corporations, the dividends they are surely not going to give up. Besides that, arms deliveries abroad, particularly to developing countries, enable Washington to control the situation in those countries, to influence the political course of their governments.

And Washington widely uses all sorts of "regional" and "international" pretexts, making allegations about "Soviet" or "communist" threat. For instance, U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci took advantage of even a brief stopover at Agana airport (Guam) in order

to try again to convince countries of the region that, despite restructuring in the USSR, "there are no signs of the lessening of the Soviet menace".

He thus as if suggests that the arms race should be continued and that the USA is ready to supply arms. And, as facts show, Washington is as good as its words in this respect: According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the United States plans to considerably increase the sales of arms abroad in the next fiscal year, bringing its value to 15 billion dollars, an increase of 3.3 billion dollars on last year's appropriations. The United States sells armaments to 33 countries, but the main recipients are Israel (3.6 billion dollars), South Korea (393 billion dollars), Pakistan. And the character of these deliveries is far from being defensive. Thus Israel will be supplied with 60-75 nuclear-capable F-16 fighter-bombers. Over one billion dollars worth of combat helicopters will be supplied to the Israeli army. U.S. equipment will be installed on Israeli submarines "Dolphin" and patrol boats "Saar".

797 million dollars is allocated to Pakistan for the purchase of up-to-date armament. Meanwhile the sales of arms to the Philippines where a situation not quite favouring the USA is shaping now, are cut by more than half, from 108 million dollars in the current fiscal year to 45 million dollars in the next.

Though Washington talks about peace, cooperation and the reduction of the sales of arms, the United States and its allies deliberately encourage the arms race in developing countries by stirring up regional conflicts, heightening tension, setting peoples at loggerheads. Military expenditures deplete the economy of Asian, African, Latin American countries, compel them to borrow funds. Their debts have already surpassed one thousand billion dollars.

By delivering arms to developing countries, Washington imposes on them its policy, compels those countries to do what actually contradicts their national interests. The sales of arms has become a "strategy of strangulation" by means of which Washington tries to conduct its policy of neoglobalism. People in developing countries become ever more aware of this.

Particularly attractive in this connection is the alternative suggested by the Soviet Union: to turn over to developing countries part of the funds saved by the curtailment of the arms race that is to replace the principle "armaments instead of development" imposed by militarism with a new state of things, "disarmament for development".

Demands for KAL Investigation Meet Silence

LD0309150088 Moscow TASS in English 0958 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 3 TASS—The relatives of the Americans, who were on board the South Korean airliner which violated the USSR's airspace in September, 1983, urged the U.S. Congress to carry a full investigation into the circumstances of the destruction of the airliner. As is known the airliner which was on its flight form Anchorage (Alaska) to Seoul deviated for a distance of several hundreds miles from its preset course and invaded deep into the territory of the Soviet Far East.

At a press conference held here on Friday, the relatives of the passengers who were killed in the accident again attracted attention to the fact that the U.S. Administration prefers, as before, to conceal from public many questions involved in the tragic accident. Nan Oldham told newsmen, in particular: The Congress, which has broad powers, has the right to examine the papers classified until now on the flight of KAL-007 and thus learn the truth.

Mention was made at the press conference of the letter of March 9 from Senators Edward Kennedy and George Kerry with a request for a start of an investigation. The letter was sent to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. It points to the evidence that the traffic controller of the U.S. Federal Aviation Department in Anchorage knew an hour and a half after the start of the flight that the plane had changed course and was flying deep into the Soviet air space. Yet, for some reason, he did not warn the pilot. The senators also expressed the view that some important papers had been destroyed and the tape records of communication with the plane, which are now at the disposal of the USA and Japan, had been forged.

It is already not the first attempt made by the relatives of the passengers of the airliner who were killed in the accident and of a number of law-makers to learn the truth. They have periodically raised that question throughout all the five years yet they, as before, meet with silence.

China

Visit by Husak, Sino-Soviet Summit Viewed

OW0509124788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1035 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, is in the PRC on an official visit. He is holding talks with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC, and with other leaders of the country. [video shows Gustav Husak in conversation with Zhao Ziyang]

According to press reports, both sides have expressed satisfaction with the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the parties and the peoples of the CSSR and the PRC. The closeness of views of the two countries on a number of important international situations is emphasized. Let me remind you that, in connection with this, Gustav Husak's visit to China is not the first such trip by a leader of an East

European country. This was preceded by other summit meetings, such as those with the leaders of Poland, the GDR, and Hungary. The visits by the leaders of these countries to China do not merely signal a normalization in relations which have for many years been frozen by both sides, but they also provided the stimuli for active development of cooperation. Moreover, this cooperation is no longer limited to trade and economic areas but embraces other spheres, including politics. This is a normal and natural process based on commonality of social and political systems; the convergence of problems—primarily domestic ones—which are being presently solved by socialist states in the period of socialist renewal; and overcoming stagnation in development.

As the influential French LE MONDE writes, it appears that the next stage will be a Soviet-PRC summit between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping. It is quite obvious, LE MONDE notes, that both Moscow and Beijing are thinking about this. China has reminded us that this idea was first presented by Deng Xiaoping himself. The paper then notes that for his part, Mikhail Gorbachev has already agreed.

More on Rogachev Visit, Discussion on Cambodia

Dialogue With Tian Cited

PM0509134588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Dialogue on the Problems of Cambodia"]

[Text] Beijing—For the last 5 days the Chinese press and foreign journalists accredited in Beijing have been focusing their attention on the Soviet-Chinese working meeting on problems connected with a settlement of the situation around Cambodia.

I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Tian Zengpei, PRC deputy foreign minister, took part. The participants in the meeting positively assessed the informal meeting in Jakarta, where, for the first time in 9 years of confrontation, there was a joint discussion of ways to achieve a political settlement of the Cambodian problem with the participation of representatives of the four Cambodian sides and also of the Indochinese and ASEAN countries.

According to a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman at a press briefing, the talks in Beijing proceeded in a businesslike, frank, constructive atmosphere. Both sides stated their readiness to do everything in their power to achieve the speediest, just settlement of the Cambodian problem by political means. During his meeting with I.A. Rogachev, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen noted that it had revealed certain points of contact in the two sides' positions and emphasized that the earliest possible solution to the Cambodian problem is a desire shared by both countries. I.A. Rogachev and Qian Qichen noted the need for further efforts to overcome differences on a number of important questions concerning a settlement in Indochina.

On Friday morning, dozens of correspondents from leading agencies and newspapers from all over the world assembled at Shoudu Airport. I.A. Rogachev initiated a brief conversation with journalists, without beating about the bush: "We are satisfied with the results of the talks. We have worked hard. The working groups have been fruitful in their efforts. We have succeeded in broadening the sphere of our mutual understanding, there are now more points of contact, but there are still some differences. It is important that the Soviet Union and China sit down and begin a serious dialogue on a Cambodia settlement. We are distinguishing between the domestic and foreign aspects of the problem. Our countries can promote progress in the external aspects of the settlement. The internal aspects are the responsibility of the Khmers themselves."

In response to a question from your correspondent—how do you assess the meeting in the context of Soviet-Chinese political relations?—I.A. Rogachev said:

"It will, of course, help to normalize these relations, as the Cambodia problem has cast a shadow on them. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops now lies ahead. We hope they will be withdrawn in full next year. All this, of course, will have a positive impact on Soviet-Chinese relations."

PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei was also brief. The Chinese side, he noted, hopes for the earliest possible withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the Soviet side, as he understands it, agrees with this in principle. As far as the results of the talks are concerned, they were fruitful. Tian Zengpei expressed the belief that the meeting in Beijing will help to deepen mutual understanding between the two countries on the Cambodian problem.

'Serious Differences' Noted

LD0209193788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] And now a report from Beijing where the first Soviet-Chinese meeting on Cambodia has been held. Comrade Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei took part in the meeting. Our correspondent Viktor Kulikov reports from Beijing:

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] The results of the meeting were summed up during a conversation between China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Comrade Rogachev. [video shows Rogachev in talks with Chinese officials; camera cuts to Kulikov seated at table with Rogachev]

Igor Alekseyevich, over the past few months you have paid working business visits to Beijing several times. This fact in itself indicates that our political contacts with the PRC are being stepped up. Against what background was this meeting conducted?

[Rogachev] This meeting perhaps falls into a special category of talks. Sound progress in the sphere of a Cambodian settlement has been made in recent months. I want to mention here first and foremost the decision by Vietnam and the PRK to withdraw 50 percent of the Vietnamese contingent—50,000 men—from Cambodia by the end of this year. The fact that the PRC is expressing the wish and intention to play a constructive, positive role in the matter of settling the Cambodian conflict pleases us. We have agreed very precisely to examine the internal and external aspects of a Cambodian settlement. We believe that the Cambodians should resolve the internal aspects. As for the external aspects, there is an accord here that both the Soviet Union and the PRC will do everything possible to contribute toward finding solutions that are acceptable to all parties.

I want to say frankly that we have moved a step forward in strengthening mutual understanding between our two countries—I mean the conflict in Indochina. Alongside this, one also has to state frankly that there are also serious differences [raznoglasiye] between us. They remain. But we have agreed to conduct a further discussion of these problems in order to seek through joint efforts a solution, a solution to many questions that have accumulated in this region. [end recording]

UN Talks on Cambodia Set

LD0209212988 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen will discuss issues of settlement in Kampuchea during their forthcoming meeting in New York, which will take place later this month at another session of the United Nations General Assembly.

This was reported by a Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev at a news conference that took place in Beijing on Friday.

Igor Rogachev made the statement before leaving from Beijing at the head of the Soviet delegation which will take part [as heard] in the first Soviet-Chinese working meeting on Kampuchea.

Leaves Beijing for Home

LD0209100088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] At the conclusion of the first Soviet-Chinese working meeting on Cambodia, Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, left Beijing for home today. Before departing he made a brief statement for Chinese and foreign journalists. The Soviet side, the deputy minister said, is satisfied with the outcome of the talks, as a result of which we succeeded in expanding the sphere of mutual understanding. It is of great importance that the Soviet Union and China sat down together at the negotiating table and started a serious dialogue on questions of a Cambodian settlement. However, Comrade Rogachev stressed, we also have serious differences.

'Glad' of PRC Cambodia Stand

LD0309110488 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—"We are glad that the People's Republic of China expresses the desire to play a constructive positive part in the settlement of the Kampuchean conflict," Igor Rogachev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, stated Friday night in a TV interview. He has just returned from Beijing where he took part in a meeting on Kampuchea with Tian Zengpei, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China.

Igor Rogachev pointed out that the past several months had witnessed a perceptible advance in the sphere of the Kampuchean settlement. He reported the decision of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to withdraw from that country by the end of the current year 50 per cent of the Vietnamese contingent, which amounts to 50,000.

"We agreed to clearly define in the Kampuchean settlement the internal and external aspects. We believe that the internal aspects should be tackled by Kampucheans themselves. As for the external aspects, agreement has been reached that both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will do their utmost for promoting the finding of solutions acceptable to all the sides", Rogachev said.

Qian Qichen Cited on World Scene, Bilateral Ties

PM0509133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "From Confrontation to Dialogue. Article by PRC Foreign Minister"]

[Text] Beijing, 1 Sep—The journal QIUSHI has published an article by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen under the headline "Moving From Confrontation to Dialogue."

For a long time, the author writes, we lived in an atmosphere of confrontation. The nuclear arms race and regional conflicts seriously threatened the cause of peace worldwide and the security of states. The trend toward dialogue has intensified in the international arena over the last few years.

First and foremost, the improvement in U.S-Soviet relations should be noted. Dialogue between these countries was repeatedly broken off in the past because of the exacerbation of relations. Moreover, situations sometimes arose in which the sides, figuratively speaking, "unsheathed their swords and drew their bows." This is the picture now: U.S. President R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have had four summits since 1985, and the two countries' foreign ministers have repeatedly met at the negotiating table. Such lively contacts are unprecedented in the history of U.S-Soviet relations.

The foreign minister particularly highlighted the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although this document, he noted, only concerns a small proportion of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons, it is the first step on the long road to the reduction of nuclear missile arms. The plans for joint inspections by the two sides has met with a positive reaction in all countries. Qian Qichen also noted the sides' mutual desire to continue talks on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, on which agreement has not been reached.

Talking about Sino-Soviet relations, the minister pointed out that there have already been 12 rounds of political consultations at deputy foreign minister level between the PRC and the USSR, and border talks are also being conducted. The Chinese side, Qian Qichen stressed, consistently advocates the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the eradication of existing obstacles. The author advocates the holding of a Sino-Soviet summit, stressing the need to create the appropriate conditions and atmosphere for it.

Carlucci Arrives in Beijing for Talks

LD0509125388 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 5 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci arrived for a five-day visit here today. He will have negotiations with Defence Minister of the People's Republic of China Qin Jiwei and other Chinese military leaders and politicians, will make a trip to Xian and Shanghai.

It is noted in local journalistic circles that Frank Carlucci is to discuss with his Chinese counterpart questions of bilateral relations, and also a whole number of international and regional problems of mutual interest. But the sides' main attention will be paid to military questions including the question of missile armaments of the two countries.

Northeast Asia

Soviet-Japanese Foreign Ministry Consultations

LD0209181688 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Tokyo September 2 TASS—A round of regular consultations between the Foreign Ministries of the Soviet Union and Japan on issues of the agenda of the forthcoming 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly was held in Tokyo today.

E. Obminskiy, head of the directorate for international economic relations at the USSR Foreign Ministry, and M. Endo, director of the Department for U.N. Affairs at the Japanese Foreign Ministry, took part in the consultations.

The consultations were held in a business-like, frank atmosphere.

Takeshita Statements on Ties With China Viewed

PM0209124588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Igor Latyshev "Correspondent's Comment": "Stronger Links, Fewer Illusions"]

[Text] Tokyo—Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has returned from a 6-day trip to the PRC. During the trip he had meetings and talks with the Chinese leadership, including Deng Xiaoping, PRC Government head Li Peng, CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, and other leading statesmen.

It is clear from his statements that one very important purpose of Takeshita's visit to China was to widen Japanese cooperation with the PRC and "deepen mutual understanding" between the two countries. And perhaps they were not just cliches. The decade that has elapsed since the full normalization of Japanese-Chinese interstate relations has demonstrated that in real life the achievement of mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries is a far more complex matter than proclaiming the goal on paper.

Decisions contributing to the widening of economic links between the two countries were the chief result of the Japanese-Chinese summit talks. Bilateral agreements were signed in Beijing guaranteeing, with some reservations, that Japanese entrepreneurs investing capital in the PRC have "equal rights" with local enterprises in the sphere of taxes, acquisition of raw materials, hiring of labor, and so forth. The major new Japanese loan to China of 810 billion yen, the granting of which over the period 1990-1995 was solemnly announced to the Chinese side by Takeshita during his stay in Beijing, is intended to give extra momentum to the further expansion of trade and other economic contacts between the two countries. This is the third Japanese loan to China in the past decade (the first loan of 330.9 billion yen was made in 1979-1983 and the second, of 470 billion yen, was made in 1984-1989). Japanese government circles and banks, which currently possess probably the biggest currency reserves in the world, are guided, of course, in this case, not so much by altruistic motives, which is the picture official statements by the Japanese side would like to paint, as by a desire to bring these reserves into play and, by injecting large sums into the Chinese

economy, stimulate the development of the PRC infrastructure and also a further increase in the volume of Japanese-Chinese trade. The Japanese press reported that trade between the two countries in the current year promises to exceed all past indicators.

In an effort to get in the Chinese side's good books the important Japanese visitor took some other financial "gifts" with him to Beijing: 40 billion yen in the form of free credit, 1 billion yen for the restoration and conservation of Buddhist temples and other historical monuments in northwest China, plus a declaration of willingness to grant free aid to pay for an extensive program of work to prevent environmental pollution.

Earlier, in the late seventies and early eighties, such leaders of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party as Masayoshi Ohira, Sunao Sonoda, and others had explained the motives behind their giving financial assistance to promote PRC economic development by hinting rather candidly that the real purpose of the assistance was to hitch up the PRC to the capitalist world.

It is hard to say whether Japanese statesmen have such illusions today. But one thing is known: During the talks with Takeshita the Chinese side made it abundantly clear (all the Japanese papers reported this) that it intends to continue its course of developing economic, scientific, and cultural contacts with the Soviet Union. It is worth noting also that on this occasion Japanese press coverage of the visit did not include any direct or indirect allusions to Chinese support for the course of further increasing the military might of the Japanese "Self-Defense Forces" or widening its cooperation with U.S. armed forces. The world situation has changed, there is a different mood in the PRC today, and it was no accident that the Japanese prime minister, in his speech in the city of Xi'an, placed the main accent on assurances that Japan has no intention of becoming a "great military power" and repeatedly declared his adherence to a peaceful foreign policy. If one is to believe these highly dubious assurances by Takeshita, what interests the Japanese side in the present contacts with the PRC is not so much the political aspects of the contacts as the widening of bilateral cultural exchange (!).

The circumstances of Prime Minister Takeshita's PRC visit demonstrate, therefore, that during the talks with the Chinese Government leaders the Japanese visitor had willy-nilly to adopt a different tone from the one the Liberal Democratic Party leadership adopts in its own country or in meetings with the leaders of some other countries. The militarist sentiments which are typical of a number of groupings in the Japanese ruling camp no longer have a place in the system of Japanese economic, political, and cultural contacts with the PRC. And this is natural: The fundamental interests of the Japanese and Chinese peoples demand not only the further development of their bilateral friendly ties, but a general relaxation of international tension and good-neighborly cooperation with other countries of the Far East region, and above all with the northern neighbor—the Soviet Union.

DPRK Olympic Body Regrets Nonparticipation

LD0309143288 Moscow TASS in English 0915 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Pyongyang September 3 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has had to make a decision in not sending its athletes to Seoul for taking part in the 24th Olympics because they will be held only in the South, says a statement of the DRPK Olympic Committee circulated here today.

Nevertheless, the statement pointed out, the DPRK Olympic Committee spared no efforts until recently for North and South Korea to organize the Olympics together.

Since the Olympic Games will be held only in one part of our divided motherland, the problem of participation in them is not just a working sports issue. It becomes a major political problem directly linked with the vital interests of the nation.

In conditions of the separate holding of the Olympics and the absence of a single team of North and South Korea our participation in the Olympics would be tantamount to our consent to the "occupation by American troops of South Korea and a policy of creating two Koreas", the statement said.

"This would mean as well running counter to the unanimous desire of the student youth and broad sections of the patriotically-minded population of South Korea who, despite ruthless repressions, have started a strenuous struggle for joint organization of the Olympics and a peaceful unification of our native land". The statement pointed out in conclusion that the DPRK Olympic Committee would remain loyal to the ideals of the Olympic movement and would make an active contribution to its development.

First Soviet Olympic Athletes Arrive in Seoul

LD0509205688 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—First Soviet participants in the 1988 Olympics have arrived in Inchon and Seoul by sea, and another batch of Soviet athletes who will perform in the Olympics, some 130 people, will take a plane on September 7, a first charter flight of Aeroflot to South Korea. Altogether the Soviet delegation will consist of 860 people including 520 athletes, 140 coaches, 70-80 researchers and medical staff, representatives of economic and technical services, interpreters. Soviet sportsmen will participate in all of the competitions, except for field hockey for women, as the USSR national team has not passed the qualifying tournament in this event, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Sports and the USSR Olympic Committee Marat Gramov said at a press conference today.

He said there are many stars on the USSR team—athletes Sergey Bubka and Yuriy Sedykh, gymnast Yelena Shushunova, swimmers Igor Polyanskiy and Sergey Zabolotov, cyclists Gintautas Umarov and Vyacheslav Yekimov, weightlifter Yuriy Zakharevich. Gramov said that famous basketball player Arvidas Sabonis had expressed the wish to perform in the Seoul Olympics. Sabonis will start training on the Olympic team from September 7.

Soviet wrestlers, gymnasts, shooters, cyclists, water polo players, handball players stand good chances of success at the Olympics. Considerable progress has been made in boxing, Judo, weightlifting, fenching, tennis, by athletes in jumping and throws, by women athletes in racing.

The average age of participants in the Olympics is 25 years. The youngest are members of the teams in gymnastics (17 years) and diving (19.5). Riders are the oldest (34).

Gramov said that monetary prizes have been instituted for Soviet athletes, who will emerge victorious in the 1988 Olympic Games—12,000 roubles. 15 per cent of the sum will be paid them in hard currency.

Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Sports said that some 50 gold medals should be won to emerge victorious in the team classification. He said that only teams of the Soviet Union, the United States and the GDR are equal to the task. The results of Chinese athletes increased markedly. They hold dominant positions in table tennis, diving and women's volleyball.

Participants in the Olympics from Bulgaria, FRG and Romania are in good form and have grounds to expect to win Olympic medals, Gramov said. Among those who are set to earn medals are entrants from Morocco, Kenya, Djibouti, Somalia, Brazil, Thailand, Indonesia, Venezueal, who are strong in separate events.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev, SRV Official Discuss Cambodia

LD0309162088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1539 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev met here today with Dinh Nho Liem, SRV first vice minister of foreign affairs, who is in Moscow on a stopover on his way to Cyprus.

During a friendly conversation, a thorough exchange of views regarding progress on a Cambodian settlement took place. Both sides spoke in favor of strengthening the dialogue with the participation of all interested states, with the aim of the speediest elimination of this seat of tension in Southeast Asia.

Present during the conversation was SRV Ambassador to the USSR Nguyen Manh Cam.

Greetings to SRV Leaders on Independence Day

PM0509130588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to SRV party and government leaders on the 43d anniversary of SRV independence]

[Text] To Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee;

Comrade Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State;

Comrade Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers;

To Comrade Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

Dear Comrades!

We send you and, through you, the CPV Central Committee, the Councils of State and Ministers, the SRV National Assembly, and the fraternal Vietnamese people cordial greetings and ardent congratulations on the 43d anniversary of the victory of the August Revolution and the creation of an independent democratic state on Vietnamese soil.

The revolutionary events of August 1945 opened up a new era in the country's centuries-long history. In the past few years the heroic Vietnamese people under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party have achieved outstanding victories in the struggle for freedom and the unity of the motherland.

Vietnamese Communists and the SRV's working people, carrying out Ho Chi Minh's behests, are now traveling the new road of socialist creation and are resolving the complex tasks of developing the economy and culture and improving the people's welfare. The decisions of the Sixth CPV Congress, which set its sights on renewing all aspects of the Vietnamese society's life, are of great importance in overcoming the difficulties experienced by the country and in accelerating the country's progress.

Vietnam consistently implements a peace-loving foreign policy course and, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, actively campaigns for the prevention of nuclear war and the assertion of new political thinking in international affairs. The constructive initiatives of the SRV and of Laos and the PRK open up favorable prospects for improving the situation in Southeast Asia and are making a weighty contribution to strengthening security and developing good-neighborly cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Soviet-Vietnamese relations, reinforced by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, whose 10th anniversary is being celebrated this year, have reliably served and continue to serve the fundamental interests of both peoples and the cause of peace and socialism. The revolutionary processes of restructuring and renewal that are gaining pace in the USSR and the SRV create new opportunities for improving the effectiveness of cooperation and for deepening cooperation between the USSR and the SRV in the international arena. The recent meeting between Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh reaffirmed the resolve of our parties, countries, and peoples to travel the tried and tested road of brotherhood.

We wish you, dear comrades, the Communists, and all the working people of the SRV great successes in implementing the course of the Sixth CPV Congress and in securing new achievements in socialist building.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Thw USSR Council of Ministers

Hun Sen Interview Broadcast to Cambodia

BK0509144588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, under the title "The Hardest Time Has Passed", the recent issue of the Soviet weekly magazine NOVOYE VREMYA published an interview with Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers.

Question by the magazine's correspondent: At the Bogor meeting, how were your personal relations with leaders of the three groups opposing the PRK?

Comrade Hun Sen's answer: I can tell you that not only did we shake hands but we also ate at the same table.

Question: When you said Pol Pot and his close associates should not be allowed to return to power, who did you specifically mean?

Answer: We said we recognize that the Khmer Rouge is a political organization which has the right to take part in resolving the conflict. However, we cannot agree to the participation of this group's leaders in the future power structure. We will specify the list of these people later. We also cannot agree to the legitimization of this group's armed forces, which are the tool of the Pol Pot group to again regain power. Our Cambodian people have greatly suffered because of this group's regime. This is why we demand the elimination of these armed forces and that they should be disarmed. This does not mean that we want to eliminate their combatants, but the Khmer Rouge's armed forces should no longer be influential.

Question: You talked about the list of Pol Pot's close associates. Is this list long or short?

Answer: In the interest of a speedy national reconciliation, this list is short.

NOVOYE VREMYA correspondent: The Bogor meeting could lead to the redistribution of forces. There is a conflict in the tripartite alliance that is currently opposing the PRK Government. An alliance is being forged comprising the Phnom Penh government and the groups of Sihanouk and Son Sann. The Khmer Rouge group is isolated.

Hun Sen: For this, there should be concrete evidence. However, the general situation will evolve in this direction. Now we can clearly see that a solution to the Cambodian problem can be achieved either by an agreement among all the four Cambodian groups or an agreement among the majority of them—namely our PRK Government, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and the Son Sann group. In this case, the Khieu Samphan group will be left out.

Correspondent: How do you assess Sihanouk's different—and to be precise—contradictory statements on the outcome of the informal meeting in Indonesia?

Comrade Hun Sen: In my view, Samdech Sihanouk, to a certain extent, knows what he should say at a given time. In Beijing, he should say that the Bogor informal meeting did not bring any positive results. On the contrary, in Jakarta, he should say that the results were good and appropriate. It all depends to whom he is talking.

Question: In your view, have there been any changes in the U.S. stand on the Cambodian problem?

Answer: There is only one point on which we and the United States fully agree: The United States, like us, does not want the Khmer Rouge to return to power.

Question: In the past nearly 10 years, have there been any changes in the PRK's stand in the international arena?

Answer: The West and China have done quite a lot to isolate our Cambodia. In my view, it is for this reason that our current foreign relations are not what they should be. However, we do have close relations not only with socialist countries but also with quite a number of developing and nonaligned countries. In sum, we maintain relations with 36 countries and 4 national liberation movements.

Now that a solution to the Cambodian problem can be achieved, the process of recognition might be faster. In any case, during my stay on Indonesian soil, representatives of a number of Asian countries talked to me about this issue.

NOVOYE VREMYA correspondent: What is Cambodia's current internal situation?

Comrade Hun Sen: In my view, this situation is neither very good nor very bad. I think the hardest time for us has already passed. The situation, in fact, is in our favor. It can be said that the past 1 or 2 years have been very favorable for our economy.

Correspondent: My last question. How do you assess Soviet-Cambodian relations in the fields of policy, economy, and other fields?

Comrade Hun Sen: The relations between our two countries are those of lofty friendship and brotherhood. The multifaceted support provided by the Soviet Union, as well as Vietnam, has enabled the PRK to stand on its own and survive. We are most grateful to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government and people. Economic relations—in other words, Soviet aid and assistance to our Cambodia—have been and will be very important to us in their size and volume. In our Cambodia—particularly soon after liberation, when we went through a serious period of shortages while trying to restore life destroyed by the Pol Pot regime—many things were made possible and restored because of the assistance of Soviet specialists and the dispatch from the Soviet Union of technical equipment, building materials, and necessary goods. Cambodian and Soviet services and departments are now busy finding cooperation measures that will bring the most effective mutual benefits; they are busy coordinating needs, real possibilities, and duration of cooperation and contracts. I hope the restructuring policy in the Soviet Union and our increasingly good judgment of what is going on will enable Soviet-Cambodian economic cooperation to achieve real significance and efficiency.

Near East & South Asia

Najibullah Appeal to Other Parties Cited

PM0209115188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[Unnamed PRAVDA and TASS correspondents' report under rubric "Important New Step Taken in Afghanistan on the Way to National Reconciliation": "Front for the Sake of Peace"]

[Text] Kabul, 1 Sep—A conference was held here today for the leaders of the PDPA, the Revolutionary Organization of Afghan Working People, the Afghan Peasant Justice Party, the People's Islamic Party of Afghanistan, the "Solidarity Movement of the Afghan People (Fedayeen)," and the "Ansarullah Alliance."

The conference was opened by Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the Republic of Afghanistan. He noted that the national reconciliation policy answers the interests and aspirations of all the Afghan people. We have considerably broadened the social base of state power and formed a national-patriotic platform, thereby creating the opportunity for compromise and dialogue. A great deal has been done to implement the reconciliation policy in the political, economic, and military spheres. Indisputable successes have also been achieved in the international sphere, with the Geneva agreements being a very important result of the new policy.

Today, coalition government—a real expression of the new, broader social base—has been ensured at the level of villages, districts, provinces, and central organs of power, but only within the limits of the territory where state authority has been established. At the same time, we have had little success so far in attracting representatives of the "second echelon" of opposition and its foreign organizations into coalition organs.

More and more new forms of state authority with coalition elements have recently come into being and are demonstrating their viability. But one new structure is not enough. Everywhere our success is being decided by people: their commitment, competence, and ability to mobilize the population for defense. Shortcomings in this work were most clearly apparent in the Konduz tragedy. We need mature cadres, total unity, and real self-defense. We have solid combat subunits and a great deal of ammunition and equipment—we are capable of resolving any task, however complex.

Since 15 May the armed opposition has imposed a war on us and we, unfortunately, are being drawn ever more actively into it. But we must not forget the main strategic aim of our government—the national reconciliation policy. So if others force a war on us, we in turn must impose the reconciliation policy on them. This policy must now be regarded as a trilateral process. First of all we must fight for a cease-fire—not only throughout the country as a whole but in every individual village, district, and province. The second factor is to broaden contacts with the oppposition, primarily the "second echelon" of opposition. And, finally, the third point is to consolidate and unite all national patriotic forces.

There is no doubt that the major achievement of the reconciliation period has been the establishment of a multiparty system, Najibullah noted. This provides a good basis for solving our society's political and social problems on the principles of democracy. But every party must show greater activeness and assertiveness in the implementation of our reconciliation policy. All parties and social organizations must act as one united front. It must be a front in defense of Afghanistan's Constitution, independence, and sovereignty, in defense of peace, a front of struggle for democracy and freedom for all, a front in support of coalition state authority.

While generally giving a positive appraisal of the activity of the parties represented at the conference, Najibullah also noted that the problem of creating a general democratic front is still in the initial stage of its solution.

The president went on to emphasize the need for all parties to take part in organizing the self-defense of residential areas, enterprises, and institutions, forming special paramilitary detachments from individual parties, and enabling them to win control of territories and even whole administrative units, as is already being done by the Revolutionary Organization of Afghan Working People.

In foreign policy activity, Najibullah noted, the parties must focus their attention on implementing the Geneva agreements, developing relations with neighboring countries and the whole Muslim world, and strengthening and developing relations with the Soviet Union. Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Bringing about the earliest possible end to the fratricidal war is the only way to broadly and fully democratize our society. Those parties and groups that contribute to solving the tasks of national reconciliation, the democratization of society, and the defense of the state will gain national recognition and historical justification for their existence in the future. Other parties, placing their own, narrow party aims above the common, national task of restoring peace will inevitably be rejected by the people.

The resolution approved stresses fundamental support for the national reconciliation policy, notes the need to end military operations and begin talks between the opposing groups, and highly appraises the Geneva agreements. The document notes that Afghan-Soviet friendship is an important factor in successfully solving the tasks of socioeconomic development and international stability for the Republic of Afghanistan.

Paper Interviews Afghan Prime Minister

PM0209155788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq by correspondent Yevgeniy Bay: "Our Aim Is To End the War"]

[Text] Kabul—[Bay] Dr Sharq, the achievements of the Afghan coalition government are substantial and tangible. At the same time, people's power in the country is encountering certain difficulties on the path of pursuing the national reconciliation course. How do you see the Afghan political panorama today?

[Sharq] The process of national reconciliation has involved many people and entire strata of the population in political life. I myself returned to active work as a result of the new course. The achievement of national reconciliation is the chief content of the activity of the new government I head, and we are fully resolved to do all we can to attain this goal. It is necessary to explain to the opposing side that war is senseless.

Our government is partly coalitional. Some 18 ministers, including me, are nonparty people. We want to widen the coalition by inviting representatives of the armed opposition to participate in dialogue and cooperation. Only with the participation of all strata of the Afghan nation will it be a real coalition government. It is not our aim to preserve the present cabinet at all costs. We are seeking to create the kind of power that will bring about the end of the war.

The opposition, as you know, is divided and is riddled with deep contradictions. Many of the group leaders who are inside the country have seen the monstrous results of the war and the massive calamities that have befallen their compatriots. Were it not for the outside interference it would be far easier for us to come to an agreement with representatives of the opposition operating inside Afghanistan. But the leaders of the "Peshawar Alliance" have a very quiet life—their wives and children are in Western countries and they are not bothered about their people's misfortunes. They believe that the war will bring down the regime. We explain that the continuation of hostilities will not bring results for either side. The war is being waged ultimately not for Afghans but for external forces abroad who are interested in continuing the armed confrontation. We are trying to persuade the opposing side of this, and we hope they will understand us sooner or later.

[Bay] Does this mean that the present cabinet is merely a bridge to a future broad-based coalition government?

[Sharq] I would like life to enable us to be a bridge to peace. Of course, it is hard to maintain unity in a country in the grip of war, in an underdeveloped country with many tribes, but that is the aim of all our efforts.

[Bay] The history of Afghanistan has been the history of different ethnic groups and tribes. Wouldn't a certain relaxation of centralization be a way out of the conflict?

[Sharq] Centralization has always been Afghanistan's best tradition, and we hope the trend will gather momentum. There is no province inhabited by only one tribe. And one group of the population cannot be placed above another.

Unfortunately, in the country there are forces belonging to the armed opposition that would turn Afghanistan into a second Lebanon, forces who operate from separatist, narrowly egoistic positions. This is very dangerous. Our government is struggling for the unity of the whole people, who are linked by traditions, culture, and religion, for the creation of a united, independent, nonaligned Afghanistan.

[Bay] The events of recent weeks—around the city of Konduz in particular—show the difficulties that have occurred with the establishment of a coalition form of government locally.

[Sharq] The same difficulties existed in the capital at the start. Before forming the present cabinet I spoke face to face with each future minister about how he would conscientiously and consistently be able to support the national reconciliation policy. And if we did not agree on this very important aspect then there was no longer any question of that particular person's participating in the cabinet.

I believe that provincial leadership needs a strong person, someone known in Afghanistan—be he military or civilian, irrespective of whether he has always supported the government or was once on the other side of the barricades. This person must conduct the new political course in deeds rather than words. The people do not want any bribe-takers or plunderers of state property among their leaders, they want to see discipline established.

[Bay] This struggle for efficiency is also taking place in your cabinet?

[Sharq] Our government is considerably less bloated than the last. Formerly the prime minister had 10 deputies, now he has 3. In the years immediately after the revolution the government comprised 60 people. Now there are 30 ministers—and we want to cut this number to 20. We intend to reduce ministry staffs, too. Ten people must not be carrying out work that could be done by one.

[Bay] What role does the fight against corruption play in your activity?

[Sharq] First of all we want to dig out the roots of corruption, eliminate the causes of it. I will cite an example. In one district where bribery was rife free aid from the Soviet Union was being distributed. For example, we instructed one official to deliver it to the population of a particular province, but he sold the goods to Kabul market traders. Now, with the consent of our Soviet friends, we are selling the goods that come to us in the form of free aid direct to the populace and the money is going directly into the country's economic development.

We are trying to save foreign currency and have placed tight restrictions on the amounts that government officials used to spend on foreign trips. A great deal of money has been confiscated from bribe-takers. But, unfortunately, corruption is still alive and well.

[Bay] You have touched on the question of our country's economic aid. The restructuring taking place in the USSR could not fail to affect the sphere of our foreign economic activity too. There were certain gaps in our trade and economic relations with Afghanistan until recently. How do you now assess the state of affairs in the cooperation sphere?

[Sharq] I figure that Soviet aid has become more balanced and rational than before. I hope for the establishment of sounder direct ties. In this area we are seeking shortcomings first and foremost in ourselves. Before obtaining any aid, a governor traveling to the sponsoring republic or oblast of the USSR should determine the range of goods his province really needs. Previously our envoys ordered whatever they themselves liked—all kinds of services, official minibuses, and electronic equipment for districts that did not even have an electricity supply yet. We must strive to ensure that your side provides realistic aid, that people remember it, and that they realize that what they are using was made in the Soviet Union. But, on the whole, your country's support for our war-torn state—direct ties, granting credit, training specialists—has been simply invaluable for us.

[Bay] The Soviet Union's aid to the Afghan private sector is now a new sphere of cooperation. How do you assess the prospects for this that have emerged recently?

[Sharq] I see them as exceptionally useful. The fact is that in the first years after the revolution our businessmen suffered enormous damage. Certain traders were killed and others fled the country. Later the reprisals stopped, but it is only in the last 2 years that the government has taken a number of effective measures aimed at strengthening the private sector. Aid to businessmen has been enshrined in the Republic's Constitution. We have proposed that they build factories and set up joint-stock companies, and we have removed the restrictions on cooperation with foreign capital and trips abroad. Private owners have had their illegally expropriated bank deposits returned to them. Moreover, banks have been instructed to help private traders. The use of their capital investment is exceptionally advantageous for us. We intend to reduce our state apparatus, and the officials released will go to work in the newly created private or mixed enterprises. So, as you can see for yourself, private individuals are helping us find work for people.

[Bay] You intend to visit our country in September. What expectations do you have of this?

[Sharq] This will be the first visit to the USSR by a nonparty Afghan prime minister in the last 10 years. Our people are expecting a great deal from it. We have always taken the view that the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples is above partsian interests. I hope the trip will be a success.

[Bay] Our conversation is taking place at a time when a joint Soviet-Afghan crew is in orbit. How do you assess this event?

[Sharq] This is a great honor for us Afghans. I thank our Soviet friends for this assistance. The fact that a son of the Afghan people has flown in space is a point of

national pride for our people. At the same time, this event is a new boost in our struggle for national reconciliation, the ending of the fratricidal war, and the unity of all Afghans.

[Bay] If we could look from space not just at Afghanistan but at its neighboring countries, what political panorama would you see?

[Sharq] Naturally, we Afghans are closely following events in Pakistan. If a genuinely democratic government is elected there in the next few months, this will have a great positive impact on bilateral relations. We sincerely hope that this will happen.

India has been making a very positive assessment of the changes taking place in our country. The Indian people, like ours, are interested in improving relations with Pakistan.

There are now signs that we may be able to improve relations with Iran. We are doing everything possible not to set Iran against us. We are receiving reports that the Iranians may respond in like fashion. True, not everyone in the Iranian leadership shares these views, but we hope for an improvement in relations.

So if we look at the situation from above, in my view it would look quite favorable and optimistic.

Afghan Minister on 'Difficulties' With Rebels

LD0209165288 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 2 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

The Afghan Armed Forces are capable of upholding revolutionary gains on their own, the Afghan interior minister pointed out today.

Col.-Gen Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, commenting on reports in the Western press which doubted the combat ability of the Afghan Army, emphasised in an interview to the TASS special correspondents that the Soviet troops during their stay in Afghanistan "fulfilled with honour their internationalist duty and helped to revive Afghanistan's Armed Forces, boost the morale and political awareness and upgrade the skill of the officers and men."

The Afghan minister acknowledged that the country's armed forces encountered certain difficulties in several regions, singling out Konduz.

One should not "discount the fact that Pakistan is continuing its gross interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs by backing bandit formations," he said.

"Besides, in 26 out of 31 provinces, we are left up-to-date weapons. The forces gained invaluable experience of combat action in complicated conditions over the years of the undeclared war against Afghanistan."

Noting that opposition forces were able to cause damage thanks to flexible tactics and rapid re-deployment, Gulabzoy emphasised that the point at issue was the temporary and localised character of damage: "Nowhere and never can disunited formations of right-wing rebels defeat the regular army which enjoys popular support."

The Afghan minister pointed to the absence of unity within the ranks of the opposition forces: "The Peshawar ('interim') government has not been recognised by many of the so-called field commanders, including those who formally belong to the 'parties' grouped in the 'Alliance of the Seven'."

Gen. Gulabzoy said that opposition forces had stepped up rocket attacks at Kabul. He revealed that "death caravans" daily crossed the Afghan-Pakistani border with Islamabad assistance.

American Stinger and British Blowpipe rockets, Italian anti-tank Milan rockets and heavy Spanish mortars were being brought inside Afghan territory in crates marked "NATO arsenals."

Rebels Launch Missile Attack on Kabul 1 Sep

TASS Describes Damage

LD0209155588 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 2 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin reports:

Five children were killed and 16 more wounded, many of them gravely, when bandits from among the die-hard opposition in Afghanistan marked World Peace Day on September 1 with a barbarous missile attack on a number of districts in Kabul.

One of the missiles exploded right near a playground by a school in a residential area, which was filled by kids.

All in all, 48 missiles were fired into the Afghan capital Thursday, most of them from the south-eastern direction, and killed a total of nine people and injured 21 others.

The area of the airport and adjacent residential developments suffered significant damage.

Fires erupting in the area of the airport have since been put out and rebuilding work is under way.

Ferocious clashes between detachments of various opposition groups are continued in the territory of the country. The armed groups of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA) and the Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan keep fighting for spheres of influence in the area of Mir Bacheh Kowt, Kabul Province. At least 60 bandits were killed, among them commanders of both groups, some 30 rebels were injured. The population of nearby villages are the first to suffer from these clashes, BAKHTAR news agency points out.

An armed group of 100 people downed arms and went over to the side of the government in Herat Province, BAKHTAR reported. A group of refugees returned to Parwan Province Thursday. The necessary material aid was given to all of them.

A jirgah [assembly] of residents in Sharikar [name as received], Parwan Province, expressed support for peaceful efforts of the Afghan leadership and the national reconciliation policy. The jirgah adopted a message to the opposition armed groups calling on them to stop the fratricidal war. Participants in another jirgah, which was held in Mehterlam, the administrative center of Laghman Province, approved a resolution reading, inter alia, as follows: "The Geneva accords are the sole way towards peace and all Afghans, whatever their affiliations, are obliged to observe them". Representatives of the tribes attending the jirgah committed to contribute to the return of refugees.

TV Shows Airport Damage

LD0209203988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 2 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A new crime has been committed by extremists in Kabul. We have just received via satellite a report from our correspondent. He reports from the scene:

[Begin recording] [M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] It took place at 1505 Kabul time. It occurred at the airport during ordinary operations: Planes were taking off and landing, including many passenger planes, according to schedule. Then the first rocket explosions were heard. You can see buildings are burning over there, on the edge of the airport. A helicopter is almost completely burned up over here. Fortunately, there was no one in it and no one was hurt.

In spite of this obvious evidence of barbaric bombardments which do not stop for a single day, in the West there are continuing attempts to fan rumors that such bombardments are being carried out by the Soviet Army. Logic and human reason are impotent here. How can we fire on our own people? The flames from the warehouses for fuel and other combustible materials hit by the missiles could spread at any moment to where the planes are kept and where several shells also exploded. Soviet pilots, technicians, and soldiers guarding the airport immediately joined in the struggle to save military and civilian craft. [video shows Leshchinskiy looking at his watch beside a burned out helicopter, still smoldering, black smoke in the background beyond blue and white marked planes. Buildings in the distance are in flames and smoke and the helicopter are seen in close-up shot. An Aeroflot plane is seen just behind through the smoke. A camouflaged plane with the number 28 visible on the side can be seen. Soldiers are dousing the flames of a hangar or warehouse and a military helicopter seems about to take off. A military helicopter, camouflaged, with the word "dangerous" in Russian in red on the side and the number 4 is parked, small fires by a wall can be seen some distance behind it]

Comrade colonel, shells and ammunition are still exploding all around. [video shows Leshchinskiy addressing Soviet colonel on the airfield] But I can see that the evacuation of equipment is coming to an end. Has it taken place under fire?

[Colonel V.A. Loginov, identified by caption] It took place under the most complex conditions when shells and high explosive bombs were going off. The personnel from the commander of the regiments, Colonel Golovanov, deputy commander of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Bondarenko, down to privates, pilots, technicians, and mechanics, have shown miracles of courage and heroism and have saved almost all the heavy equipment. Not a single item of combat equipment or ground-based means of flight control have broken down. There are no losses among the pilots. Fortunately, everyone is well and alive.

[Leshchinskiy] At that time, densely populated districts of Kabul were also shelled. All in all, almost 50 rockets fell on the city. The result is tragic. Nine people are dead, among them five children. Sixteen children are injured. [video shows Leshchinskiy talking to the colonel as a military truck tows a helicopter off screen behind them. Shots of more firefighting operations; a medical helicopter marked with a red cross is seen. A final overview of the airport shows smoke in the background and air traffic control radar monitors] [end recording]

Kozyakov Views Missile Attacks

LD0309024688 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] On Thursday, armed groups of Afghan extremists again subjected the city of Kabul and Kabul airport to missile shelling. There were children among the people who died in the attack. More in a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

Missile attacks on Kabul have grown particularly frequent of late. They take the lives of elderly people, women, and children, and devastate their homes. The question arises as to who bears responsibility for all this. Obviously not only those who press the button on the

missile launcher. I think no less responsible are those supplying weapons to the extremists, and in fact encouraging them to this kind of activity.

By the way, the missile attacks hit not only cities and villages in Afghanistan, they also hit the Geneva accords, to which the United States is one of the guarantors. These accords provide not only for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, a measure implemented consistently and on time, another and no less important provision demands an end to any outside interference in Afghan affairs, Pakistani interference in the first place. Yet this is a point Washington prefers to hush up for some reason.

Over the past days, a State Department spokesman has repeatedly accused Moscow and Kabul of violating the agreements, specifically his pronouncements mentioned the sending of Soviet aircraft to the city of Konduz to help protect it from extremist attacks. However, if one were to show genuine concern about compliance with the Geneva accords, one would have to talks about those who have indeed been violating them by intruding into Afghan affairs and dispatching armed Pakistani groups to conduct terror acts against local residents.

Any international agreement is effective in as much as it is observed by all signatories. Meanwhile, as time goes by, Islamabad's disruptive stand on the Geneva accords is becoming increasingly evident. The flow of foreign weapons and armed extremists groups from Pakistan into Afghanistan, far from subsiding, has been gaining strength. Isn't it because of this that the number of armed attacks and missile shellings of Kabul and other cities has been on the rise?

Washington's role of a guarantor of the accords has been increasingly questionable. Last Wednesday THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent in the Pakistani city of Peshawar reported the United States was dispatching the larger part of its weapons supplies from Pakisan directly to forces operating within Afghanistan.

Afghan Official on Minefields, Booby Traps

LD0509201988 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 5 TASS—By the end of August of the current year engineering troops of the limited Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan removed 1,518 minefields. Apart from it, many of them were transferred to the Afghan side. This process is going on.

Colonel Shukur, spokesman for the Defense Ministry of Afghanistan, said in a TASS interview: "Two factors are characteristic for the mine situation of Afghanistan. On the one hand, it is accurate registration, the presence of all the documents on the deployment and removal of minefields by Soviet troops. The same is true of the Afghan Army. We know the location of minefields and have their complete description. On the other hand, armed opposition groups do not observe, sometimes on purpose, necessary conditions during the deployment of minefields and, which is especially dangerous for the lives of peaceful civilians, spread mines without any system".

Taking into consideration this danger, Soviet sappers carry out explanatory work in many populated localities. Schoolchildren are informed of booby-trapped mines in the form of Japanese tape-recorders, Chinese lanterns and even Soviet toys. It is not surprising that it is Soviet and no other toys are used for this purpose. They are sent to Afghan schools and kindergartens within the framework of free assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan. They are stolen, stuffed with plastic explosives and planted in cities and villages. Those actions are not only intended to intimidate the population. They further the treacherous aim of shifting to Soviet soldiers the blame for the crimes of the armed opposition forces.

Kornilov on Pakistan's 'Destructive' Policy

LD0409201688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep (TASS)—TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

According to reports from the REUTER agency, Islamabad has rejected the proposal of the Republic of Afghanistan to convene a meeting very soon of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the USSR, and the United States, with the participation of the UN secretary general, devoted to the problems of implementing the Geneva agreements. The motives behind the rejection? They didn't bother too much about those in Islamabad. They simply declared the Kabul proposal to be "propaganda."

It is hard to say what such "reasons" aim at. In fact, any sensible person inevitably asks the question: If the Kabul proposal was dictated by the "interests of propaganda" then why doesn't Islamabad engage in such "propaganda" as well, when it is persistently attempting to advertise its commitment to the Geneva agreements? Why do they avoid discussing problems at an authoritative international forum? What are they afraid of? Is it not that any serious conversation in which the participants would be operating with specific and irrefutable facts about violations of the "Geneva Packet" (and Kabul has at its disposal more than 400 such facts) would demonstrate that Islamabad's statements regarding its compliance with the obligations it has assumed is no more than a smoke screen, relying on gullible or confused people?

No, it is not "propaganda" that is spoken of in the Kabul proposal; it is permeated with the desire to ensure strict and accurate observation of the obligations of the "Geneva Packet" which is pivotal in reducing external intervention in Afghan affairs. I remind you that in this connection the bilateral Afghan-Pakistani agreement

signed on 14 April in Geneva, obliges the sides to refrain from armed intervention, from cooperation with, encouragement of, or support for insurgent or separatist activities and not to permit on their territory exercises, equipping, financing, or recruiting of mercenaries. Are these and other important points of the agreement being fulfilled by Islamabad? The answer is clear: Camps and bases in which terrorist formations are formed and equipped continue to operate on the territory of Pakistan, arms for the "unreconcilable" arrive in an interrupted flow, and the armed intervention against Afghanistan continues.

And how is this dangerous and destructive policy viewed in the United States, a guarantor of the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements? I have in front of me an account of a briefing held on 2 September in the U.S. State Department. Phyllis Oakley, a spokeswoman for the State Department, detailed the latest rocket attack on the international airport and Kabul's residential areas (a raid that I should remind you resulted in the death of five children!), and then declared that, in her opinion, the "Geneva agreements are being implemented." As other reports that have arrived from Washington make clear, the United States intends to go on building up the supply of weapons to the "implacables" via the territory of Pakistan—with the active support of the Pakistani authorities, of course. But if Washington thinks "rocket terrorism" against civilians in Afghan towns is the same as "observance" of the Geneva agreements, then what would it consider to be a crude violation of them?

Recently Soviet and international public opinion has focused on a number of statements by representatives of the present Pakistani leadership which claim that Pakistan has every intention of fulfilling the obligations it assumed in Geneva. Such a policy would undoubtedly meet the interests of peace in the region, and would fully meet the genuine and fundamental national interests of Pakistan itself, which is currently going through a very difficult and important period in its history. But against the backdrop of such statements, how is one to interpret Islamabad's refusal to take part in an authoritative international forum devoted to the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements? As evidence that certain quarters in Pakistan and their backers intend to go on ignoring and violating these agreements? If that is the case, then it should be stated categorically: Such a poicy will not pay its initiators any dividends. Quite the reverse....

U.S.-Pakistani Cooperation Poses 'Threat'

LD0509151088 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] New Dehli September 5 TASS—The United States has offered to supply Pakistan with a large shipment of modern M-1 Abrams tanks fitted out with the latest target detection and fire systems.

Commenting on the U.S. move, the PTI news agency notes that the United States has markedly stepped up its attempts to strengthen American-Pakistani military ties in the recent month.

A bilateral American-Pakistan military and economic agreement worth more than four billion dollars provides for U.S. deliveries of distant naval intelligence planes Orion, the 155-millimetre howitzers, the TOW-2 anti-tank rockets, missile destroyers and other armaments to Pakistan already this year.

According to the Indian press, the expansion of military cooperation between Washington and Islamabad is posing a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

By assigning an important part in carrying out the American strategy in South Asia and the Indian Ocean to Islamabad, Washington is striving to use Pakistan for heightening military threat in that part of the world and blocking the peace initiatives advanced by India and other countries.

Akhromeyev Sees Off Kuwaiti Officer on Tour

PM0509103988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Tour of the Country"]

[Text] Major General Mazyad al-Sani', chief of the Kuwaiti Armed Forces General Staff, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, visited a Moscow Military District unit on 31 August.

During the afternoon, Maj Gen M. al-Sani' left on a tour of the country. The Kuwaiti guest was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev and other officials.

'Abd al-Mohsen Yusuf al-Du'ayj, Kuwaiti ambassador to the USSR, was among the send-off party, as were the heads of the diplomatic missions of a number of other Arab countries.

Maj Gen M. al-Sani' arrived in Leningrad the same day.

Commentator Praises Libya on National Day

LD0209212288 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Commentary by Aleksandr Timoshkin from the "Window on the Arab World" program]

[Text] Today the Libyan people are marking the 19th anniversary of the 1 September revolution of the liberation. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent the people and leadership of the Jamahiriyah a cable in which it warmly congratulates them on their national

day. The cable also said that the Libyan people have made important achievements in consolidating national independence and have defended their right to pursue an independent path in international life. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expressed in its cable of congratulation its confidence that friendly relations and fruitful cooperation will develop to the benefit of both sides and toward the building of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

We would like to point out here that the triumph of the Libyan revolution is of importance to the Arabs: Witness the many Arab delegations, including a senior Palestinian delegation, that have come to Libya to participate in the anniversary celebrations.

The 1 September Revolution triumphed in Libya at a very difficult phase in history; we mean the phase of the Israeli military invasion of 1967 which Israel and its Western protectors thought would be followed by a period of decline for the Arab national liberation movement. For this reason, the shock caused by the triumph of the Libyan revolution to the calculations and hopes of the enemies of Arab independence and freedom was great. It should be said that the Libyan Jamahiriyah is still greatly contributing to the struggle of the Arab world to eliminate the traces of the Israeli aggression, to help the just struggle of the Palestinian people triumph, and to liberate all Arab territories occupied by the Zionists. Libya is also playing a very positive role in efforts to achieve a political settlement to regional conflicts and important international problems, including the issue of ridding mankind of the danger of nuclear annihilation.

In a word, the free and independent Jamahiriyah is occupying an appropriate role in the Arab world and the international arena.

East Europe

PRAVDA Reports End of Polish Strikes

PM0609094788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Normalization of Situation"]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Sep—Normal working is being resumed in the Gdansk shipyards, the port of Szczecin, and the coal mines in Katowice Voivodship, where work had been interrupted since mid-August as a result of strike actions by a sector of the working people.

Following the strike, all the efforts of the labor collective at the V.I. Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk have been focused on making up the backlog. Despite the fact that it was a nonworking Saturday and despite torrential rains, hundreds of shipbuilders turned out for work yesterday. Work continued on the construction for the Soviet Union of the timber ship "Teodor Nette," which will soon be commissioned, two trawlers, a refrigerated ship, and two training ships.

Proposal for Roundtable Meeting Draws Attention

LD0309221088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 3 Sep 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Text] Now to the situation in Poland. The social and political tension in this country, which arose as a result of several strikes in August among the miners of Silesia and the dock workers on the Baltic, is gradually subsiding. This is what our correspondent in Warsaw, Vasiliy Lesovik, has to say:

[Lesovik] By this morning the strikes in Szczecin, at the Stalowa Wola metallurgical combine, and at the last of the 12 mines that were previously on strike, had practically ended. The situation at the enterprises is getting back to normal. The end of the strikes, however, certainly does not mean the elimination of all the problems connected with these conflicts. They require their own resolution.

Meetings between party and government leaders and collectives were held yesterday at a number of the country's leading enterprises, at which there was a discussion of these problems. It was stressed at these meetings that the dissatisfaction of certain groups of society has its socioeconomic prerequisites. For example, the February price-raising operation, which was undertaken within the framework of implementing an economic reform program, was recognized as unsuccessful. This operation, aimed at slowing inflation, not only did not yield the desired result but, on the contrary, generated growth in inflationary pressures and led to an excessive spiraling of prices and wages, which had an effect on the pace of implementing the reform program itself and led to the threat of lower living standards for certain groups of the population.

The attention of the entire Polish public in the development of events in the country's internal political situation is currently concentrated on the proposal advanced by Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers Committee for Law Adherence and Social Discipline and the country's minister of internal affairs, on the holding of a so-called roundtable. Czeslaw Kiszczak proposed such a meeting with representatives of all sections of the public and labor collectives, and even with individuals who, not on the basis of confrontation but on the basis of consolidation within the framework of constitutional procedures, are prepared to conduct a dialogue on all pressing problems of the country's social and political life. This proposal is assessed as a real opportunity for reaching mutual understanding and cooperation among all of the forces existing in the country. In the estimation of many, such a meeting is becoming ever more realistic and could take place in the near future.

Husak Tours Novosibirsk En Route to Beijing

LD0209194488 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Novosibirsk Sept 2 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and President Gustav Husak today inspected Novosibirsk, the third biggest Soviet city. He stopped here for two days on his way to China.

Accompanied by First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Soviet Communist Party Vladimir Kazarezov, Gustav Husak visited also the "academic town," a scientific centre of the Siberian department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The town, where more than 40,000 scientists work, was founded in 1957. It has 23 scientific research institutes, a number of special constructive offices and other working places.

Gustav Husak and his entourage were acquainted in detail with the main tasks and organization of the Novosibirsk research centre and visited its geological institute where a unique exhibition of all Siberian minerals is installed.

In a debate with leading representatives of the Siberian department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Gustav Husak highly appreciated the contribution of their basic and applied research to the development of Siberia, Soviet society and science.

He was interested in questions connected with changes in the management forms which help to speed it up, such as for instance the creation of temporary groups for research in the most prospective directions and an independent foreign trade enterprise.

Later in the day, the Czechoslovak representative met with leading party and state functionaries of the Novosibirsk area and the city. In a cordial debate, they informed him of the implementation of the tasks connected with the restructuring of various spheres of the life in the region whose area is bigger than that of Czechoslovakia, of prospects of the development of the Novosibirsk agglomeration and of the problems and their solutions. Gustav Husak acquainted his hosts with the main directions of the restructuring in Czechoslovakia.

On Saturday, Gustav Husak and his entourage will leave for Beijing to start there a five-day official friendly visit to China.

CSSR's Lenart Begins Working Visit

Met by Slyunkov

LD0509151388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee on a working visit.

At the airport Jozef Lenart and those accompanying him were met by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and senior staff members of the CPSU Central Committee. Among the welcoming party was Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day Nikolay Slyunkov and Jozef Lenart took part in the work of a seminar of directors from Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises on matters relating to enhancing the effectiveness of new forms of economic cooperation which has opened at the World Trade Center.

Discusses Economic Cooperation

LD0509221288 Prague CTK in English 2017 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow Sept 5 (CTK correspondent)—Soviet Communist Party Politburo member and Secretary Nikolay Slyunkov told a meeting of Czechoslovak and Soviet experts today that the activation of direct cooperation between the two countries' producers has not only an economic but also deep political sense.

Speaking at a seminar of directors of Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises Nikolay Slyunkov noted that the two countries' organizations have concluded more than 300 contracts on direct relations.

In harmony with an understanding reached between Mikhail Gorbachev and Milos Jakes, the general secretaries of the two countries' Communist Parties, preparations continue for joint ventures to produce antibiotics, electronic elements, furniture, leather footwear and other goods.

Serious problems have emerged in the past and are being solved slowly, Slyunkov said. The extensive model of the division of labour, based primarily on simple goods exchanges, has become an impediment in the extension of mutual trade.

Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in engineering does not reach the required level, the development of direct contacts is slow and only a quarter of them covers cooperation in production, the Soviet representative noted. The Soviet Union completely supports Czechoslovakia's effort to cut the share of energy- and material-intensive products.

Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Secretary Jozef Lenart stressed that it is necessary to completely rebuild the mechanism of cooperation and launch new progressive forms which should eventually make possible the founding of a common socialist international market in a not too distant future.

He went on to speak about the role of Czechoslovakia as a supplier of machinery and equipment which has been gradually but steadily weakening in the last three decades in comparison with other world exporters. This is due to the system of management of the economy which has failed to exert sufficient pressure to achieve structural changes in Czechoslovak engineering.

In the next few years, Czechoslovakia wants to modernize its engineering and expects support from its partners, primarily the Soviet Union.

Jozef Lenart said that the mechanism of cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is not up to the demands of time. Stimuli must be created for direct contacts between enterprises and for free circulation of experts and goods, he said.

Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society Board Meets

LD0509115888 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Today the Central Board of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society held a meeting in Moscow. It was devoted to the 45th anniversary of the second national liberation conference in Labionti whose decisions played an important role in the struggle of the Albanian people against Nazi occupiers.

Political & Social

Democratic Union 5 Sep Demonstration Banned

AU0309184788 Paris AFP in English 1830 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 3 (AFP)—A demonstration planned by the dissident Democratic Union to mark the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik "Red Terror" has been banned by Moscow city authorities, the evening newspaper VECHERNAYA MOSKVA said Saturday.

Democratic Union spokesman Yuriy Mityunov told AFP that his group, which last May formed a political party to challenge the supremacy of the ruling Communist Party, would defy the ban and try to stage the demonstration on Monday.

The last demonstration organised by the Democratic Union was violently broken up by police who made a total of 96 arrests. Twenty-eight policemen from a special anti-riot squad were injured, according to the official press, while three Democratic Union members were given 15-day jail terms.

The August 21 demonstration had been organised to mark the 20th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

VECHERNAYA MOSKVA warned that the demonstration to mark the "Red Terror" "distorted the facts" by ignoring the historical necessity for the September 5, 1918 decree which legalised sending Lenin's political opponents to concentration camp.

The paper warned that those who took part in the demonstration would be "moving into a confrontation with the law". The official reply turning down the demonstration request said the rally was a "provocation" with "anti-Socialist aims".

Mr. Mityunov said the demonstration aimed to show that the "Red Terror" had continued to exist throughout Soviet history.

Militia Breaks Up Gathering

LD0509181888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

Despite an official ban, another assembly [sborishche] was held in the center of Moscow today by the so-called "Democratic Union."

First, the people initiating the "meeting," more like a badly organized gypsy camp, spent a long time shrieking all kinds of incomprehensible slogans, virtually grabbing the listeners by the sleeves. Finally, having gathered an impressive crowd which impeded and annoyed the passers-by, they turned to the numerous video cameras of Western journalists.

It should be mentioned that by decision of the Moscow Gorispolkom the meeting had been acknowledged as antisocialist and was accordingly not permitted. I remind you: During a similar "event" on 21 August, some of its organizers were given various administrative punishments for hooliganism.

As the shouts of the "demonstrators" became more and more antistate and their behavior more aggressive, the situation deteriorated and threatened to become critical. Then, after repeated warnings through loudspeakers, the militia took decisive steps. A special squad formed a chain and simply crowded the troublemakers from the assembly place.

'No Extreme Steps' Needed

LD0509211588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 5 Sep 88

["Provocative Action by the So-Called 'Democratic Union' Foiled"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—A TASS correspondent reports:

The so-called 'Democratic Union' this evening organized another provocative display in downtown Moscow at Pushkin Square.

Immediately after the previous provocative action on 21 August, the so-called initiative group, consisting of Novodvorskaya, Debryanskaya, Kuzin, Skubko, and other notorious activists of the "union," "informed" the Moscow Gorispolkom of their intention to hold a meeting to coincide "with the 70th anniversary of the announcement of the 'red' terror." In considering this communication, account was taken of the fact that the "union" had earlier taken steps of a provocative nature, utilizing the process of democratization underway in the country for antisocial and antisocialist purposes, and had permitted violations of the procedure for holding meetings and gatherings in public places and of public order. Also noted was the negative view of Muscovites who did not want to be drawn into the unscrupulous game of the pseudo-democrats and pseudo-humanists. Inhabitants are justly outraged that under the guise of "democracy" the city dwellers and guests in the capital have in essence been deprived of their favorite place of rest, and that Pushkin Square has been turned into a stage for unworthy political displays.

The provocateurs give the name "red terror" to the legitimate desire of any revolution to defend itself from internal and external enemies. The leaflet distributed by them is full of lies, with an assortment of known facts and distortion of Lenin's idea of dictatorship of the proletariat.

That is why, guided by Article 50 of the USSR Constitution and Article 6 of the Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On the Procedure for Organization and Conduct of Assemblies, Meetings, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR", the Moscow Gorispolkom forbade the holding of the meeting.

...The crowd started assembling on the square long before the appointed hour. Among those gathered were at most 20 or 30 "union" members. The majority consisted of the curious, among whom representatives of the foreign press stood out, armed with cameras and television equipment and even step ladders. For many Muscovites, whose way home from work lies via the square, there was a much longer way to go: The militia, with legitimate justification, had cordoned it off for the purpose of preventing disorder.

Several attempts to start the spectacle were prevented with the aid of voluntary squads and the special militia detachment. The actions of law enforcement bodies, which detained 17 members of the "union", was commented on in a conversation with the TASS correspondent by Militia Major General Nikolay Myrikov, deputy head of the Chief Administration of Internal Affairs. He said: "Given the unconditional support from the majority of citizens, our units entirely coped with their assignment. The militiamen acted competently, firmly, and courteously. No extreme steps were needed. The guilt of those detained and the measure of punishment will be established by the people's court of Frunzenskiy Rayon of the capital."

At 1945 the cordon around Pushkin Square was lifted. The spectacle had not come off. The producers and actors in the provocative spectacle never got the applause they had wanted.

PRAVDA Reports First Day of Churbanov Trial

PM0609113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 First Edition p 6

[PRAVDA special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko report "From the Courtroom": "The Scales of Justice Are Set in Motion"]

[Text] Yesterday the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium began its examination of the criminal case against Yu. Churbanov and a number of former senior officials of Uzbek internal affairs organs.

Long before the session began Soviet and foreign correspondents and curious onlookers had gathered outside the USSR Supreme Court building on Vorovskiy Street. Behind this everyday interest and curiosity one could discern another element: Had the people under investigation drawn any conclusions in the meantime, had their mentality altered any, how did they view their conduct and actions now?

The trial would answer these questions. In the meantime, the journalists were compiling their first impressions, observing those who were arriving at the USSR Supreme Court building under escort.

On the face of it they were just ordinary people. Tidily dressed, clean shaven, hair neatly trimmed. Let us name the has-beens: Yu. Churbanov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; Kh. Yakhyayev, Uzbek SSR minister of internal affairs; T. Makhramanov and P. Begelman, republic deputy ministers of internal affairs; and oblispolkom internal affairs administration chiefs S. Sabirov of Khorezm Oblast, D. Dzhamalov of Tashkent Oblast, Kh. Norbutayev of Kashka-Darya Oblast, Ya. Makhamadzhanov of Namangan Oblast, and M. Norov of Bukhara Oblast. The USSR Prosecutor's Office has charged them all with receiving and giving bribes, abusing their official positions, and other instances of violation of the socialist rule of law.

But at that moment we were remembering some other people: people who had been deceived, morally and materially deprived peasants, in whom the Rashidov regime had tried to instill blind obedience to the bureaucracy, their hands all cracked and split from working on a diet of bread and water. After that one took quite a different view of the "son-in-law and his cousins" (the title of our 30 August 1988 article).

State Prosecutor A. Sboyev, USSR assistant general prosecutor and senior justice adviser, and the defense attorneys—lawyers from the Moscow City Lawyers' Collegium A. Makarov, A. Rappoport, S. Plotkin, L. Shaposhnikova, P. Barenboy, N. Gagarin, O. Rakishina, Ya. Rokhlin, and L. Mamut—took their places.

Then came the standard exhortation:

"Please stand! Court in session!"

The trial is presided over by Major General of Justice M. Marov, member of the USSR Supreme Court and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium. He was flanked by Major Generals of Aviation V. Zhevagin and V. Sizov, USSR Supreme Court people's assessors.

We wanted to meet with the chairman and people's assessors and with the state prosecutor before the trial. But we did not succeed: Understandably, they were all extremely busy, spending every minute preparing for the complex and, in all likelihood, long trial. (One detail: The by no means small court table can barely accommodate the 100 plus volumes pertaining to the case). But

there is no doubt that these people are supremely competent, experienced, principled, and highly knowledgeable concerning not only the law, but life as well. Everyone we talked with at the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Prosecutor's Office was convinced of their objectivity, convinced that the most precious thing for them was the truth and observance of the rule of law for all.

Mikhail Alekseyevich Marov declared the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium session open. The obligatory procedures stipulated by the criminal procedure code were run through. Incidentally, many of our colleagues had the impression that the 1st day of the trial was weighed down with formalities, that they were merely holding things up. But that was the opinion of journalists who, of course, were impatient to hear the specific facts relating to the breaches of the law and the details of their commission. But the law is the law, and the chairman of the court was strictly abiding by it: Clarifying the defendants' submissions, announcing the composition of the court, naming the defense attorneys. A particular effort was made to establish whether the defendants and their attorneys had any requests or appeals to make.

The attorneys immediately made several appeals. In particular, they drew attention to the fact that the original RSFSR Supreme Court Presidium decree extending the term of custody for the accused had not been filed; that Xerox copies of the testimony of witnesses in other criminal cases had not been submitted in full, and that T. Gdlyan, the USSR general prosecutor's senior investigator for cases of special importance, had cited in the press information which was not in the criminal case and had discredited the defendants and aggravated their guilt, and, therefore, Gdlyan had to be called as a witness. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian in its 6 September Second Editon carries a similar version of this report, but omits a portion of the preceding sentence from "...and that T. Gdlyan..." to "...as a witness."] Some other proposals were made.

Following the recess M. Marov announced that all the requests, except those asking for T. Gdlyan to be called and for Yakhyayev to be released on health grounds, had been met. [The PRAVDA Second Edition omits the preceding paragraph.]

When the preparatory part of the trial was over the actual hearing began. The indictment was read out.

We appreciate that readers expect us to give at least brief account of it. But the point is that not every fact cited in it is bound to be confirmed by the court. It is the purpose of the court examination to scrupulously analyze and accept or reject each argument put forward by the prosecution and ensure that no innocent person suffers under any circumstances and, at the same time, that no criminal escapes punishment. And only when the scales of justice settle, only when sentence has been passed, can one confidently give an account of the facts of the crime committed by a particular defendant.

So let us not be hasty. It will take 4 days to read the indictment, which takes up four weighty tomes.

As we wrote before, the defendants do not deserve to be represented as outstanding individuals. In fact, they are ordinary people of ordinary ability, but with inordinate needs. To eat well, grab as much as possible, degrade subordinates and please superiors—that was the extent of their dreams. But one must appreciate how the ordinary consumers acquired extraordinary potential, how they degenerated from being custodians of the law to being protectors of the criminal world and corruption. Presumably the court will follow step-by-step this path of degeneration and betrayal of socialist ideals, hidden from contemporaries.

...Meanwhile, the indictment is being read out in the courtroom. It is terrible and disgusting to listen to.

Churbanov's Lawyer Interviewed

LD0209222488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1815 GMT 2 Sep 88

[From the "View" program, presented by Vladislav Listev and Aleksandr Lyubimov]

[Text] [Listev] Already on several occasions in our programs we have referred to the work of the group under Telman Gdlyan, senior investigator with the USSR Procuracy. The procuracy is investigating the serious crimes committed in our country in the 1970's and 1980's. One of those in the chain of names mixed up in the corruption and bribe-taking is that of Yuriy Churbanov. Yesterday we invited Yuriy Churnanov's lawyer, Andrey Makarov, into our studio. Here is his interview with us:

[Begin recording] [Listev] On 5 September the Military Cases Collegium of the Supreme Court begins hearings in the case of Yuriy Churbanov, former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs.

[Lyubimov] He is accused of receiving bribes totaling R651,833 and of abusing his position. Is that correct?

[Listev] Also involved in the case with him are several, so to speak, top officials from the Uzbek Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Lybimov] And also 501 witnesses.

[Listev] And 501 witnesses.

[Lyubimov] Now Andrey, why are you, in particular, asked to defend such people as Sushkov, whom you have defended in the past, and now Churbanov?

[Makarov] Well, in this case the request came from Churbanov's family, and I had no reason to refuse this defense, nor really any wish to.

[Lyubimov] Andrey, how old are you?

[Makarov] I am 34 years old.

[Lyubimov] Have you been offered any money should the case end successfully?

[Makarov] I have already heard that for this case I have received 15,000, 25,000 [currency not specified], and that should the case end successfully, that I shall receive as much again. Inasmuch as I have not yet received any such sum, I can only pin my hopes on the money I have yet to receive.

[Listev] How long do you think the investigation—oh, I beg your pardon—the case will last?

[Makarov] I think the court's examination of the case will last several months.

[Lyubimov] You said that you had no reason to refuse to defend Churbanov, nor even any wish to. Why?

[Makarov] Today I am asked not just by acquaintances but even by my very close friends how I could defend Churbanov. How can you defend such a person? I, or indeed any lawyer, defend the person and not the crime. Whatever a person has done, he has the right to a defense. Finally, it has been announced that we are building a state based on the rule of law. And the law states that every person has the right to a defense. Furthermore, every person must be assured of his right to a defense. The court, the investigation, and the inquiring body are obliged to safeguard this right. And pardon me, but on the question of whether I am the lawyer or whether someone else is, what is important is not who specifically will defend Churbanov or any other citizen. What is important is how that person defends him: in a principled and consistent fashion, and—pardon me—doing his job, regardless of public opinion, which has, unfortunately, developed around this case even before it opens. This is not simply my obligation as the lawyer for the defense; it is my duty. And pardon me, but herein lies the supreme humanism of the law, for anything else would only be possible given the ways of the Inquisition.

[Lyubimov] How many of Brezhnev's relatives are appearing as witnesses in the case?

[Makarov] In this case Galina Leonidovna Brezhneva, Churbanov's wife, is appearing as a witness—that is, being called as a witness.

[Lyubimov] There are no other relatives appearing as witnesses?

[Makarov] That is the prerogative of the investigation.

[Lyubimov] I would like to widen our conversation and move from a specific case to general matters. You were saying, Andrey, that the press is creating a false public impression of people accused of a crime before the court has decided whether or not they are guilty. And I would like to ask you how you see the role of the journalist.

[Makarov] As I understand it, your question concerns the right to publish material before the court's verdict has been rendered. This is one of those eternal questions: the existence of the law and of journalism. This is, perhaps, the most acute issue, and I think that lawyers and journalists...

[Listev, interrupting] Will probably never come to an agreement.

[Makarov] You know, I would like to believe that they will agree. I am a lawyer....

[Listev] And I am a journalist.

[Makarov] Quite right. But believe me, no law enforcement body received glasnost with such delight—I stress delight, for there is no other word for it—than the legal profession. Today, glasnost gives a barrister the chance to prove the innocence of his client. A case in point is that of Judge Polyakov. The judge worked in Volokolamsk Rayon. Pardon me, but a criminal case was fabricated—there is no other word for it—against the judge. He received 8 years' deprivation of liberty and served almost 7 years. Then, 7 years later, the USSR Supreme Soviet examined the case and discovered that the man was innocent! He was rehabilitated, and about a month ago he was readmitted to the party. Pardon me, but this is a paradox. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which published an article on this material, conducted its own investigation—a parallel inquiry—and presented its material at the level of the RSFSR Procuracy, the RSFSR Supreme Court, and the USSR Supreme Court. What the journalist had written was only confirmed at the very top. Pardon me, but the man had served 7 years. Incidentally, the punishment—if one can call it that—which the people received for what had happened was simply incommensurate.

[Listev] Some were demoted and some were repreimanded. But that is...

[Makarov, interrupting] Perhaps they were demoted, but what if they were promoted?

[Listev] I have a more general question. As far as I know, the issue of creating an association of Soviet barristers was raised at the 19th party conference. Are things progressing on this or not?

[Makarov] You have asked a question that is very interesting in itself. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report says that it is essential to have an independent, strong, and principled legal profession. It is essential to organize an association of Soviet barristers. This was directly reflected in the resolution on legal reform in the party conference resolution. And yet only recently—the letter is dated 27 July 1988 and signed by Comrade Gubarev, deputy minister of justice—a very interesting letter was circulated in which Comrade Gubarev writes, and I stress, in light of the decision of the 19th party conference: At the present time, the USSR Ministry of Justice, with the participation of academics, lawyers, and the public, is working on amendments to legislation governing the legal profession in light of the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on legal reform, which are to be submitted for wide-scale discussion. In connection with this, the formulation of this question is premature and is not valid.

This means that when barristers decided to set up an association and when an action committee of the most prominent barristers—in line with the decision of the party conference—put forward an initiative to establish an association of Soviet barristers, pardon me, but how can one view this except as a late upsurge in administrative-bureaucratic zeal? When, after the decision of the party conference, the ministry says no! Not only is this premature at the moment, it is illegal. If this party conference decision does not suit the Ministry of Justice, then what other decisions have to be made? [end recording]

Fire Shuts Down Lithuanian Reactor 5 Sep

PM0509144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own information report: "Reactor Shut Down"]

[Text] According to information that has reached IZVESTIYA from the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, a fire broke out among control cables [vozniklo vozgoraniye kontrolnykh kabeley] in Unit Two of the Ignalina AES (Lithuanian SSR) at 0050 hours on 5 September. The reactor was shut down by the technological protection system [deystviyem tekhnologicheskikh zashchit]. The automatic fire extinguishing system put out the heart of the fire. There were no casualties and no radiation leaks. The reactor installation is being controlled with the help of planned systems. An interdepartmental commission is working to discover the cause of the fire.

Automatic Systems Put Out Fire

LD0509161588 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Control cable caught fire on the cable floor in the second reactor building of the Ignalina nuclear power station in Soviet Lituania at 00 hours 50 minutes today, but the fire was put out by automatic fire-fighting systems, a senior official from the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power Industry told TASS.

Erik Pozdyshev, chief of the ministry's Main Dispatcher Administration, said it was the reactor's safeguards that pitched in to deal with the situation.

All the building's safeguard systems, which are among the equipment automatically monitoring reactor operations, sprang into action without human interference.

"Considering the heightened public interest in nuclear reactor operations, which is quite understandable after the Chernobyl accident, we decided to inform the public about what has happened at the Ignalina station at once," Pozdyshev said.

Attenting personnel were called to the site of the accident immediately after the cable ignition. A fire-fighting team arrived as well, but their help was not needed. The automatic systems has already done their job.

Nobody at the Ignalina nuclear power station has suffered any injuries. Nor have there been any radioactive leaks.

Nontheless, the reactor has been shut down, Pozdyshev said.

An interagency commission went to Lithuania by a special flight to investigate the cause of the fire. It is being led by Aleksandr Lapshin, a deputy minister of the atomic power industry.

Pozdyshev said the ministry exercises round-the-clock control over the work of the nuclear power stations in the country, with experienced dispatchers keeping constantly in touch with all the Soviet facilities of this kind.

The ministry's senior personnel are immediately advised of any malfunction affecting the dependability of operations at nuclear power stations and experienced specialists give essential recommendations to deal with the trouble.

In all the cases automatic safeguard systems stand ready to fulfill there functions and start cooling a reactor—regardless of people's will—whenever there arises a threat to operational safety.

This is just what they have done in the second reactor building at the Ignalina station.

'Great Public Concern' Noted

LD0609092288 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Fire broke out at the Ignalina nuclear power station last night. ELTA, the Lithuanian news agency, reported that shortly before 0100 [5 September], the control cables caught fire at the second power unit of the nuclear power station. The automated fire extinguishing system went into operation immediately, and the fire was put out in 15-20 minutes. About 3 meters of the cable were burned, it was reported.

As soon as the fire broke out the second reactor was shut down by an automated safety system. The radiation situation in the Ignalina nuclear power station and the immediate surroundings remains unchanged.

A special commission was set up to investigate the causes of the fire.

As announced earlier, the first reactor at the Ignalina nuclear power station was shut down [words indistinct] when a similar fire broke out at the premises of this power unit in the second half of last July. Then cables caught fire in one of the corridors of the first power unit. The electric welding unit was the cause of the fire. The small fire was put out in an hour. At that time the general public was angered by the fact that the local residents were told about the incident very belatedly because the information was being submitted to departments of nuclear power engineering in Moscow.

In general, the reliability of the Ignalina nuclear power station causes great public concern. This subject continues to appear in the press and on television.

Yielding to pressure from the general public and scientists, the Lithuanian authorities have managed to obtain guarantees from the central nuclear power engineering departments that the construction of the third nuclear reactor will be halted. However, this fact does not essentially solve the problems connected with the functioning of Ignalina nuclear power station.

Lifelong Health Checks for Chernobyl Residents

LD0509161688 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1523 GMT 5 Sep 88

["By Richard Woodman, PRESS ASSOCIATION science correspondent"]

[Text] More than 500,000 Russians will undergo health checks for the rest of their lives for signs of radiation-linked disease following the Chernobyl disaster, a top Soviet scientist said today. Mr Nikolay Botschkov, told the British Association for the Advancement of Science that the twice-yearly checks would cover 600,000 people over large areas of Russia—not just immediately surrounding the stricken power station.

About 250 people suffered radiation disaease at the time of the 1986 disaster, Mr Botschkov, an academician of the Institute of Medical Genetics in Moscow, told the association's annual meeting in Oxford.

Tests would include regular clinical investigations of people exposed to radiation. Records would be kept of how many children they produced, the numbers of spontaneous abortions, stillbirths and congenital malformations.

Details of the amount of radiation people had been exposed to would be stored on computer. Comparisons could then be made between exposure levels and health effects.

Checks to date on other people showed no effect on the numbers of spontaneous abortions or stillbirths. The present numbers were lower than normal. However, the accident was still causing a "big problem" for agriculture. In some areas farming had stopped, in others radiation checks were still being carried out on food and milk and forests were also affected by fallout.

Bodnaruk Rebuts Complaints About Restructuring

PM0409171788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Nikolay Bodnaruk "Publicist's Remarks": "Are There Any Changes and From Whom Do We Expect Them?"]

[Text] "Nothing is changing here!..." "Restructuring has given us nothing!..." "The people are tired of waiting!..."

These and other such exclamations are to be encountered increasingly often in the editorial mailbag and in newspaper pages, and they are to be heard increasing loudly in conversations between people and on the television screen. The sentiments they reflect can be neither concealed nor ignored. These sentiments do exist. They exist, and they are growing stronger. They are fueled by the new lines of people and the unwise decisions prompted by these lines, be they for sugar or subscriptions for publications; by the contradictory and confusing reports coming from different management organs; and by the dogmatic stupor paralyzing the common sense of those who are charged with guiding the processes of restructuring at local levels. All this is real, it annoys people, and it engenders either perplexity or protest.

I do not believe that the ideologists of restructuring have been caught unawares by today's economic and political difficulties. The complexity of the period we have entered was spoken of long before it happened, openly and honestly. This does not, of course, mean that the prediction of hard times ahead is in itself sufficient to relieve the responsibility for reducing these difficulties to the utmost and curtailing them in due course. It does not

relieve the responsibility of central and local management organs to act with due consideration for public moods and to take a stance to solve vitally important questions accurately and within the limit of the allocated time.

Quite. There are difficulties and there are questions to be asked of the management organs. But the most alarming element in this growing chorus of voices lies somewhere else: It shows how little success we have had in eradicating our mentality of "cogs." So much has already been said about the past, about the causes of the great tragedies and endless shortages. Yet, as soon as you encounter the present you see for yourself time after time that we have not abandoned our amazing quality of detaching ourselves from the country's fate and remaining indifferent not just to all that is happening around us but also to that which we are doing with our own minds, hands, and actions. Blame for the repressions lies exclusively with Stalin, for voluntarism, Khrushchev, and for stagnation, Brezhnev.... Assessments have been made, blame has been apportioned, and that's out of the way. Is there still a life to be lived? Whatever, we will carry on and see how they organize our life. And if they don't organize it, we will say it bluntly, for glasnost's sake: We're fed up with waiting!

I have no intention of oversimplifying matters: The political structure and the prevailing system (created not out of the blue but by us!) of social relations facilitated the suppression of the individual, and historical experience is unfortunately applying the brakes here. But whereas it might still be possible somehow to understand the ordinary working man who has seen nothing beyond his village forgotten by God and people alike, and his sacred faith in the almighty "heaven," in no way is it possible to share the groans of the intellectual political scientists who are waiting with that same servility for changes to come down "from above."

From the very first day of restructuring the party has been insisting on the understanding of this idea: Only the broad masses of the people, each one individually and all of us together, are capable of restructuring society. This is the only way because no other force exists, it never has and it never will. The necessary preconditions for people's power have been created over the years that have elapsed. The question now is different: Are we ready to take advantage of this opportunity? Have we got sufficient firmness and persistence to take the hard path?

And now about the changes. But we will look at them on a statewide scale. Just two instances, from today's issue of the newspaper. One occurred in the large city of Irkutsk, the other in a small Moldavian rayon center. In both instances, ordinary people had to make a choice. In both cases they could have behaved like proper "cogs," "voting" according to custom. Or, coming to their senses, they could really have made a choice and insisted on it. Read about them. These two instances, coincidentally reported in the same issue of the newspaper, offer answers to many questions. Including this one: Are there any changes, and from whom do we expect them?

Gromyko Addresses Kremlin Awards Ceremony

LD0509154388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Hello, comrades. In the Kremlin today Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko presented a large group of heroes with the highest state awards. The Gold Star Medal and Order of Lenin was received by Captain (Nikolay Sayinovich Maydanov), hero of the Soviet Union.

[(Maydanov)] [passage omitted] In accepting this lofty award I want to share it with all my combat comrades, those who gave their lives for a bright future for the people of the Republic of Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko addressed the award winners.

[Gromyko] I shall say frankly that we have never presented Gold Stars and Orders of Lenin to such a large group of heroes in this ceremonial hall in the Kremlin before. Today in this parade of heroes is an unprecedented number of meritorious people. It is not difficult to explain this. Frontrankers from kolkhoz and sovkhoz production make up the largest group among the award winners.

Over many years, by the sweat of their brow, they have toiled steadfastly in our countryside, each in his field of work. They are here because of their outstanding services to the development of agricultural production, and their work performance is not only excellent for the whole country but also conforms with the best world standards. Each has made a great contribution to crop and livestock production. Dear comrades, you are all working on the basis of the mastering of intensive technologies and progressive labor organization methods. You have all firmly linked your fate with the land, learned to develop, look after, and maintain it constantly in the kind of state which rightfully enables one to call it the provider.

Today's awards demonstrate graphically that the frontrankers whom the people should follow are capable of pointing the way to the future and of bringing in their wake the masses of rural workers throughout our socialist country. Among you in this hall are three heroes of socialist labor who have received awards for creative labor in the blue fields, if one can put it like that: our captains of fishing vessels, who skillfully organize the catching of fish and supply it to the table of the Soviet man.

[Announcer] Talking about the feat of (Nikolay Sayinovich Maydanov), on whom the title of hero of the Soviet Union has been conferred for the successful execution of the task relating to rendering internationalist aid to the Republic of Afghanistan, Comrade Gromyko noted inter alia:

[Gromyko] The helicopter captain served 4 years in areas where battles were being waged. Risking his life and maneuvering his machine in a masterly fashion in conditions of constant shelling, his crew skillfully carried out assault landings and evacuated the wounded from the battlefield. There was an incident when the commander managed to land his stricken helicopter, saving the machine and the people aboard. We all know what this cost the man. A Kazakh by nationality, he is an example of the Soviet internationalist servicemen.

I congratulate you sincerely with all my heart on receiving the lofty awards on behalf of our party's Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government. I convey to you congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. May this festive day for you, together with the feeling of happiness, inspire you with strength for new accomplishments. I wish you success in our splendid time of great historic restructuring. May all the good things that you have conceived, that figure in your plans, be carried out. [applause]

Yeltsin Opens Construction Achievements Fair

LD0509191888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—USSR Minister Boris Yeltsin called the trade fair of scientific and technical achievements in construction, which has opened in the Soviet capital, one of the effective ways of controlling the process of integrating progressive developments into production. The first deputy chairman of the State Construction Committee of the USSR (Gosstroy SSSR), which is the organizer of the first such exhibition in the country, spoke at its opening. [passage omitted]

KGB Official Discusses Information Policy

LD0509180088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Rubanov, head of a section in the KGB's Scientific Research Institute, has published an article in issue No 13 of KOMMUNIST entitled "From the Cult of Secrecy to the Information Culture." It must be said that the article is not simple; in many respects it is unexpected for the reader. The posing of urgent problems of the political and state management of information processes and the working out of an integrated information policy on the scale of the country's political life is all very intersting. Here is a brief interview with the writer of the publication:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Vladimir Arsenyevich, the stereotype of our society as a closed society—closed externally and very disjointed internally—is fairly tenacious, and is used very actively by our ideological opponents.

[Rubanov] Well, first of all we must define our terms in this sense—what do we mean by open and closed. The criterion clearly is the state's influence on information processes. This influence has always existed, and it is extremely complicated now to get by without state interference, without the regulation of information processes. The question arises of how these measures correspond to the requirements of sociopolitical, or more accurately, socioeconomic development.

[Correspondent] We will say straight out that the atmosphere of secrecy up until recent times—and indeed today, let's not deceive ourselves, I don't think that the position has fundamentally changed—is advantageous to official departments, let's put it that way. That is, when a decision is made behind closed doors, when society is not informed about it, naturally society does not have the slighest possibility of influencing the process of decisionmaking.

[Rubanov] On this level I would like to recall that we are working on drafting laws. But there arises a issue which I feel has not yet been sufficiently publicized, and that is the problem of secrecy. Take the problem of regulating glasnost: Whether we like it or not, we will not solve the problem of secrecy with legislation on glasnost. Because an official department can determine the extent of information for itself, as it sees fit, the principle of permitting all that is not forbidden may operate on a very limited scale. That is, essentially there ought to be openness of society as a rule, an open exchange of information as a rule, while secrecy ought to be the exception. For a long time now information has been regarded in the world as a most important national resource. And according to foreign figures, up to 50 percent of production today is made up of information. So, in actual fact, it is a most important national resource, and it requires a different attitude. I am not talking about the significance of information in the political process or the growth of self-awareness, the historical memory of the people, and so on. If we are to speak of the inculcation of an information culture, then here there is very great (?complex). For all intents and purposes, as I see it, we do not have an integrated information policy.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Arsenyevich, what do you see as the determining factor in the content of an information policy?

[Rubanov] On this point I would like to emphasize that secrecy is a very powerful means of influencing the information processes in society. I would like straightaway to present my standpoint on this topic. In the long period when a sort of presumption of secrecy or a cult of

secrecy was dominant in our public awareness and in the political way of thinking, there was a single extreme standpoint both in public opinion and in political feelings. At the moment, a different standpoint prevails in very many publications. That is, the one standpoint is in opposition to the other. The way I see it, both standpoints are fundamentally incorrect, and if a truly dialectical solution to the matter is to be found these two opposing sides of the information processes in society and in the state must be unified in a single information policy. A way out of the contradictions that exist between glasnost and secrecy must be found, and once the optimal solution to the contradictions has been found it must be subordinated to the requirements of social development.

[Correspondent] And who, in your opinion, should see to this in the state?

[Rubanov] There are different trends in world practice. But I have no doubt that it needs political guidance.

The second thing I would like to focus on is the fact that very often when we speak of the link between the problem of secrecy and reform of the political system, more often than not the need for reorganization predominates in public opinion and in public attitudes. That is, the carriers, political carriers, of social attitudes are in evidence, but what is not in evidence are the social attitudes themselves, which these institutions are essentially meant to disseminate. The focus of the problems is not in the institutions themselves: The focus of the problems lies in the system which forces—in many instances—and allows institutions, certain ministries, departments, enterprises, and specific individuals to act in the system in a certain way. And so, the main thing is to restructure public attitudes toward information and, correspondingly, toward secrecy. In this respect we are speaking about making secrecy as a political institution subordinate to the clearly formulated goals of social development, the laws, and open control on the part of the public; imposing legal and economic sanctions for unwarranted secrecy.

I would like to talk about the role and place of the Committee for State Security. On the strength of some myths and stereotypes that have built up, sometimes the existing rule of secrecy is connected not with the nature of the public attitudes that have developed, but with the activity of some bodies. Thus, in the given instance, I myself am a representative of the KGB. But as you can see, my viewpoint generally is in no way different from public opinion, the public mood, and the political directions that exist in society. And in this respect I would like to say that the KGB does not establish rules of secrecy. In the given instance it is the law enforcement body that backs up the established regime. But on the question of the system of public attitudes itself, it is the product of prolonged historical development, which has absorbed a whole lot of deformities and deviations, and a whole lot of those, let us say, authoritarian methods of government that in actual fact were designed to keep the regime in power, and were a reflection of the fact that authority was above the law.

OGONEK's Korotich on Publishing Freedoms

PM0209150688 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 28 Aug 88 p 12

[Interview with OGONEK Editor Vitaliy Korotich by Rafael Poch; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Introductory passage omitted] [Poch] What risks does OGONEK run by publishing a general's criticisms of the situation in Afghanistan or reports about a prison camp in Lithuania or corruption in Uzbekistan?

[Korotich] None of what we publish is approved in advance. Here, where everyone is accustomed to asking first, this does constitute a risk. Of course I try to ensure that all the information published is correct and in this regard I am willing to run the risk of displeasing some leader or other. It is a professional risk and I believe it is no greater than that run by any journalist in a democratic country.

[Poch] Following Ligachev's direct criticisms of OGONEK at the CPSU's June conference, what are your personal relations with the authorities?

[Korotich] In his interview with LE MONDE Ligachev replied to questions about why he so frequently attacked OGONEK by saying: "If the magazine attacks us, can we not respond?" If this is the case, I agree completely. But a balance must be maintained because if the two sides in this struggle are unbalanced the struggle will not be very fair. [Korotich ends]

Korotich is concerned about the regulations—attributed to "paper shortages"—which have drastically limited subscriptions to the country's 40 most read magazines for next year, and believes that they constitute a bureaucratic attack on "glasnost."

"Our written media are very necessary to restructuring because television has only just begun to provide presentable programs," he said, proceeding to tell a joke about television in the "era of stagnation": You switched on the first channel and there was Brezhnev, the same on the second, the third, and the fourth.... On the fifth channel there was a uniformed man, who waved a warning finger and said: 'If you keep changing channels you will be in trouble.'"

[Poch] Your magazine has not published anything about the Armenian crisis. Is "glasnost" not ready for OGONEK's opinion, or does its opinion coincide with PRAVDA's?

[Korotich] In my two-fold capacity as an honest journalist and a responsible politician, I find myself in a professional quandary to which I can find no solution. Gorbachev's enemies wanted blood to flow there in abundance, wanted to cause him a whole series of Budapests. On three occasions I sent correspondents there and they all brought me material that made it obvious that one side was right and the other was not. For instance, I have a striking report from Sumgait that shows how the Azeris slaughtered Armenians. What would be the result if I published it? I have photographs which show that the split between the two nations is huge: Why should I publish them? To widen it still further? Whatever I do, I prompt a reaction by the Armenians against the Azeris or vice versa. I have not resolved this problem, and since I have not resolved it, I publish nothing.

[Poch] Why not permit the expression of the opinions encountered, allow the moderates on each side to speak, attempt a dialogue?

[Korotich] This is what we will try to do, to grant expression to the more balanced people seeking constructive approaches to the problem. In our next issue we carry a moving letter from an Azeri, who writes: "I am ashamed to be an Azeri because my brothers killed Armenians." This piece reflects such pain, however, that we cannot escape an imbalance. Following the events of Sumgait and the disturbances at Yerevan airport, the situation will never again be as it was before. You see, I could repeat what other newspapers write in articles calling for internationalist friendship, and so forth, but such calls will not be heeded. It is very difficult—perhaps impossible—to change anything now in this regard.

[Poch] In the Ukrainian tradition of the pogrom there has always been a secret link between the anti-Semitic masses and the darkest forces of despotism, the "black hundreds," the tsarist secret police: Do you believe that murky conspiracies of this kind were at work in Sumgait?

[Korotich] You know, I believe that Francoism will continue to claim many victims in Spain. The same applies here. In the USSR you have to proceed from Stalin. He taught us that you have to kill your enemy. He was an "Ayatollah Khomeyni of socialism." In Sumgait there were social reasons of a different kind. Sumgait is an industrial city with a massive chemical complex, and when the train passes through there you have to shut the doors and windows. Ex-convicts and people on the fringes of society work there. What happened was terrible because it shows that it could have happened anywhere else—perhaps even in Moscow. In my opinion Sumgait is connected with the "pogrom"-type anti-Semitic appeals heard at meetings of the extremist Pamyat group in Leningrad. It is the same thing: the logic of "kill whoever thinks differently." This is why the struggle for democracy is a struggle against Sumgait. It is a very difficult process because in the Soviet Union we do not know what democracy is. We have never had it and have no conception of it. We were taught by Stalin.

[Poch] The reform is attacking and progressively demolishing the foundations of this country's ideology and doctrine for many years. However, it is not very clear what will replace all this, and there seems to be some danger of a vacuum. Do you believe Pamyat's extremist right-wing ideas could become a popular alternative ideology?

[Korotich] The only way to overthrow Gorbachev is to create serious disturbances in the country, to create a situation in which a "strong man" becomes necessary. Pamyat acts as destabilizing factor. I am convinced that on their own they will not stage any coup d'etat, but they could create a situation that has to be crushed by force. Unless we achieve tangible economic results, any kind of social demagoguery could influence people greatly. This is the real danger. The struggle against this right-wing extremism must be very much in earnest, and we will carry it out.

[Poch] As a Ukrainian, what is your opinion of the lack of "glasnost" and the continuing stagnation (Brezhnevism) in the Ukraine?

[Korotich] The situation there is rather sad and antidemocratic but the last thing Gorbachev needs is a civil war. We in OGONEK have just started to broach the issue of corruption in Uzbekistan, not a very strategic republic—and you know what a huge impact that caused. I am not sure this is strategically the correct time to tackle the subject of the Ukraine. Although it is necessary to concentrate on eliminating the main criminals and achieving the first economic results, Gorbachev now needs to consolidate his strength. I find it very difficult to imagine what will happen in the next elections early next year, but I believe democratic stances are developing day by day and it will be very difficult to elect deputies as before. Lenin defined the revolutionary situation as follows: Those underneath are not prepared for things to continue as before, while those on top cannot govern with the same methods as before. This is our situation.

Documentary on Party Conference Aired

LD0209153688 Moscow Televison Service in Russian 1740 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We invite you to watch a new television documentary film, "Listen, Comrade!" It is the story of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. [video shows CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev at the podium of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Right, what we want to do now is to organize our work. The first commission, which has been examining the first two resolutions: the first of them, the red one here, our basic political resolution. [end recording]

[Presenter] The resolution had been prepared by a commission, but the delegates did not ignore it. Throughout the 4 days of the work of the conference they thoroughly considered every item in it.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] It has undergone a rather...has been most rigorously edited. We have...as you can see here, it is all insets. That is because I have read the main premise, and all these are formulations.

So, who else would like to say something else, apart from what has been done by the commission, on this red resolution? [end reording]

[Presenter] Have all proposals been voiced? Has everything been taken into account?

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Has anyone got the urge (?to say something)? Comrade Seminikhin, please. [end recording] [video cuts to Seminikhin on the platform; caption reads: V.S. Semenikhin, academician, Moscow]

[Begin recording] [Semenikhin] We can already discern the prospect of bringing reimbursement in line with the quality and quantity of labor in our agriculture. Contracting of all types makes it possible. As to industry, it still has a leveling of wages. I think that the acting principle of distribution in the socialist society, reimbursement for labor in accordance with its quantity and quality, etc., should be adhered to more closely. For we, to a large extent, restrain the creative activities of workers with that leveling. This is a matter of principle, otherwise I would not climb up to the podium. [video shows Semenikhin turning to face Gorbachev]

[Gorbachev] Comrades, I believe that what is involved here is generally developing this idea. [video shows Gorbachev reading from resolution] The conference stresses that resolving all economic and social tasks can only be secured on the basis of conscientious, highly productive work by the Soviet people.

I believe that Comrade Semenikhin's idea can be entered right here, in this item. Shall we support it?

[Unidentified voice] We will.

[Gorbachev] Good. Someone else on the red resolution? Introduce yourself.

[Kosyakov] Delegate Kosyakov. A doctor from Kiev. On page five, in the phrase: The conference considers as a crucial task the unconditional fulfilment of the adopted programs to improve the health service. We are not altogether happy with the adopted programs. The following should be added: ...and to secure the introduction of economically viable forms of management to the health service. Without failure. That is because the existing methods of managing medicine are not economically viable: They do not ensure that care is fairly distributed.

[Gorbachev] Right, good. Anyone else? [camera shows man waving his card]

[Podgornov] [caption reads: N.M. Podgornov, director of "Avrora" sovkoz, Vologda Oblast] If you please. The normative funds put a brake on everything, excluding everything else—neither lease contracting nor team contracting will work. And contracting collectives will not conclude a contract with us next year. That is why I am asking to include here: In the conditions of financial autonomy, the normative wage fund should be completely excluded. [Gorbachev gestures to him to stay at the podium]

[Gorbachev] I have the following suggestion....

[Podgornov] To pay wages according to the labor contribution ratio, and only out of profits—only out of profits.

[Gorbachev] I have the following suggestion: The idea in itself is progressive and promising, and that is precisely where we are heading. A very important idea. But as categorical as it is, in my opinion it is not tactful on the part of the conference to (?give instructions) to everyone at once. The law enables labor collectives to transfer themselves, to decide by themselves. We should give them some sort of a command. What do you think?

In principle, this proposal should be welcomed and should be entered in our documents, and when it comes to summarizing the speeches of the delegates, it could be fitted in there and an assignment could be given to work out the details. Would that be all right? [end recording]

[Presenter] The next document is under discussion: a resolution on democratizing Soviet society and reforming the political system. Such an issue is being tackled for the first time in the entire history of our country.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] There is one remaining question, the one that has also been discussed in a lively fashion. I observed delegates in the process of reflection, and the way it affected their reaction. This was something that I personally felt very happy about: Everything pertaining to the life of the party and the country at present was so profoundly perceived by the comrades, who reacted to everything with responsibility.

Now, go ahead with your specific remarks, please. [video shows new speaker; caption reads: S.A. Styazhkin, IL-86 aircraft commander, Alma-Ata]

[Styazhkin] ...conference deems it expedient, then followed by the phrase: Beginning with the forthcoming report-back and election campaign to introduce the following rules to the CPSU: [as heard] All bureau members and party committee secretaries, including members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, may be elected to the same post for not more than two consecutive terms of office.

I do not believe it is expedient to put it off until the year 2000. If we really believe it, we can start now.

[Gorbachev] The commission believed that it had a progressive idea, not to put it off until we change the rules at the congress, but to start with the present report-back and election campaign.

[Styazhkin] But we should count what there is to date, and if someone has already been in office for 10 years, let him go up, sideways, or down.

Well, we are resolving party matters of principle here. We have already condemned the personality cult sufficiently, and that is why we should take practical steps in our struggle against the cult, not confining ourselves to appeals alone.

[Gorbachev] Very well, let us discuss it now. [video cuts to new speaker; caption reads: A.I. Chabanov, general director of the Cherkassy "Rotor" scientific and production association]

[Chabanov] Chabanov, general director of the Cherkassy Rotor scientific production association. Well, it is us, it is our organization which has, among others, put forward the proposal to the party Central Committee on combining the post of party general secretary with that of the soviet chairman. What made us do this? We proceeded from the premise that, first, the party holds the leading role in our society, and that we must strengthen it. It is time that we proceeded to legal subtleties in our work. We are aware of it, we are in favor of it, and we should say simply and clearly that it is correct. What is there in this respect, that the general secretary should be chairman of the Supreme Soviet? But we also stated in that proposal that the election to that post takes place during the congress. Without fail. And we ask Mikhail Sergeyevich to vote on that issue today. The nature of that office, that of general secretary, is such that it can do so much good or so much evil to the people should he be replaced. It could do no harm if someone was made acting general secretary for a while before a congress is convened. Mikhail Sergeyevich, for God's sake, this is how it should be done, and in no other way.

[Gorbachev] Very well. [applause] Just a minute. I will reply now. The matter arises. I have been receiving letters, too. I have been reflecting upon this. That is, you probably noted that when the issue of ratifying the medium-range missile treaty was debated in the [U.S.] Senate, the issue of the powers of the general secretary was raised. Did he have the right to sign it, and so on?

[Chabanov] We are aware of all that, and that is why we...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] We should indeed, comrades, put everything on a lawful basis. Another issue is mechanisms—everything should be well thought out. But we should do it, we should not put anyone into an awkward situation, anyone. But as to the second part of the question, I can see that you are posing the issue of vote-taking. Very well.

[Chabanov] I am positive about it, for this is what our collective thinks and what the conference has requested, not to yield anything here.

[Gorbachev] All right. [video cuts to new speaker; caption reads: M.A. Shestopalov, section chief, Microinstruments Scientific Research Institute, Moscow]

[Shestopalov] I suggest that that point be enhanced; namely, that election of the soviets' chairman, of the Supreme Soviet chairman, is conducted by a direct secret ballot by all the people. I believe that it would lead, first, to strengthening the authority and role of the party. Second, it would enable the leader to conduct his policies in a decisive and firm way. And third, it would give the people guarantees of political stability. [video shows new speaker; caption reads: N.N. Popkov, section chief, "Agat" Scientific Research Institute, Moscow]

[Popkov] Vladimir Ilich Lenin said: In order to make a leader express the interests of the masses, these masses must be entrusted with appointing and changing leaders. That is why I propose that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet should be elected by direct secret ballot, and that there is nothing to fear here.

[Gorbachev] You mean to leave untouched the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, but to make him elected?

[Popkov] Yes, and only through a direct and secret ballot.

[Gorbachev] Good. Now you are more specific.

[Indistinct question from the audience]

[Gorbachev] By the people, in the country.

[Popkov] In the country, how else? [video shows new speaker; caption reads: A.I. Samokhvalov, director of a Moscow oil refinery]

[Samokhvalov] We, in fact, infringe on the rights of nonparty people. There are many of them in our country, and some of them are entirely magnificent. But they

have not yet joined the party. And that is why we should have more than one nomination to choose from, from among both Communists and nonparty people. And what do have here? Let us imagine that a nonparty person has been elected. But our forefathers went into combat as nonparty people, and they used to say: Please, consider us Communists. Anyone who went into combat and did not return was considered to be a Communist. If he returned, he was presented with a party card. That is how we can resolve that issue. [video shows new speaker; caption reads: S.K. Leontyev, engineer-driver at Ufa locomotive depot]

[Leontyev] I have the following proposal: to approve the second item provisionally, until the 28th congress. In the remaining time, a public opinion poll on this matter should be carried out, and at the 28th congress it should receive final approval.

[Gorbachev] Generally speaking, we can put off everything until the congress. But then we should not be reproached for having stopped. After all, we have met in order to move forward. That issue, I will be frank with you, that issue should be stated directly. [applause] Who is in favor of passing the version of the resolution proposed by the commission? Raise your cards, please. Who is against it? [video shows several delegates voting against] Count them please. Do not lower them yet, comrades. Count, please. [passage omitted] [video shows new speaker; caption reads: V.V. Trifonenko, student at the Moscow Chemical Technology Institute]

[Trifonenko] I would like to discuss my understanding of the item on combining the functions of the party raykom first secretary and the chairman of a council of deputies. When we elect a person to the Council of People's Deputies, we do not elect a personality, but rather the cause he represents. And that is why if the first secretary of a party committee, when voting on an equal footing with all other persons nominated, is elected to the office of the chairman of a Council of People's Deputies, I believe that would be the pinnacle of ideological and political work of the party organization of the given rayon. [applause]

[Video cuts from conference hall to the courtyard of the Palace of Congresses, where an unidentified correspondent interviews Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin]

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, have you personally learned any lessons from your activities in Moscow, in the job of first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom?

[Yeltsin] Yes, of course.

[Correspondent] Could you tell us what those lessons were?

[Yeltsin] Firstly, underestimation of the issue of cadre selection. But that was rather my misfortune, because I did not know the Moscow cadres. Back in Sverdlovsk Oblast you only had to ask me and I would have told you straightaway, in a minute, what this or that leader was like. In Moscow I did not know the cadres, and naturally, taking into account the need to replace cadres—for many were deep in it, deep in the mire, it was as simple as that, and it would be impossible to resolve restructuring while they were around—sometimes I had to choose replacements who were, I would say, not 100 percent sure. And I do have a number of issues pertaining to the replacement of cadres on my conscience, where I went wrong. [end recording]

[Presenter] The party forum is nearing its end. The 4th day, the evening session, is drawing to a close. But the work is in full swing. The discussion of the resolutions is in progress. It seems that the temperature of the debate is at its highest. The item in the resolution on combining the offices of secretary of a party committee and the chairman of a soviet in local power bodies has provoked especially numerous remarks and proposals.

[Begin recording] [video shows speaker; caption reads: Yu.D. Chernichenko, writer, Moscow]

[Chernichenko] Chernichenko from the Moscow organization. I would like to ask you to vote separately on this topic, which is a major one and a socially significant one, taking into account the fact that the resolution is self-sufficient, and then on the resolution separately. That is because there is so much attention paid to it. And when the conference speaks on it, it will be clear that this social point is underscored, for it means so much in terms of the social structure of society in general.

[Gorbachev] This is what I spoke of, right, Comrade Chernichenko?

[Chernichenko] Exactly.

[Gorbachev] Very well.

[Chernichenko] Who is chosen to be the soviet chairman? Is it the first secretary of the party organization, or, perhaps, the best agronomist, the most respectable teacher, or the worthiest old soldier?

[Gorbachev] The first proposal is as in the resolution, to word it as in the resolution. Those in favor of retaining that order, raise your cards, please.

[Video shows those present raising their cards] Lower them, please. And those against? Right, we must count them, comrades. Just a minute. [end recording]

[Presenter] In order to count the votes exactly, the audience had to be split into sectors: stalls, circle, balcony, and in each sector people were selected and placed in charge of counting votes. The results of the voting are summed up, and the results are publicized on the spot.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] One hundred and forty-five voted against the proposal. [passage omitted] [video shows new speaker; caption reads: R.Z. Sagdeyev, academician, Moscow]

[Sagdeyev] Raising the role of the representative bodies would be facilitated by a recommendation that—then comes an insertion—first secretaries of the corresponding party committees should—omitting "as a rule"—be eligible, among other nominees, for election to these posts.

[Gorbachev] The point is taken. Are these two proposals clear? Clear. Those in favor of adopting this item as formulated in the resolution proposed by the commission, please raise your cards. Lower them, please. Those against. Count them, please. Keep them raised, comrades. Comrade (Leonov)?

[(Leonov)] Two hundred and nine voted against.

[Gorbachev] Is that clear, comrades? No other questions? Good. Thank you. And now I am putting the question of passing the resolution together with all the addenda which have been put forward by both the commission and in the process of discussion. Raise your cards, please. Lower them, please. Those against? I cannot see any, but if there is anyone who is against this, say so, so that you can't say later: I voted against it, but it was announced that everyone was in favor of it. None. Then the resolution.... Right, who has abstained? The resolution is adopted by a majority with two abstentions. [passage omitted]

Bukharin's Theories, Significance Examined

LD0509214588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Interview with Gennadiy Arkadiyevich (Bordyugov) and Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kozlov, candidates of historical sciences and staffers at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified interviewer; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] "A Person in History, and History in a Person" is a column in KOMMUNIST which contains an article about Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin. I offer for your attention a conversation with the authors of the article, who are staffers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee and candidates of historical sciences—Gennadiy Arkadiyevich (Bordyugov) and Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kozlov.

I will ask you to tell us about the following. What practical significance can the theoretical works of Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin have today?

[Kozlov] Well, that is the most difficult question of all which can be asked. A tendency toward transferring Bukharin's model for New Economic Plan society into our day has generally been outlined. There are a lot of tempting points in it, and it is considered that Bukharin's model is, for instance, being tried out in some measure by contemporary China. There are such opinions to be found among the experts. It seems to me that we have to look at it in another way. I mean, first and foremost, the very type of thinking by Bukharin. Generally over many years we have lost this type of theoretician-leader. And we still have to revive it. For a long time theory was not merely a servant of politics.

In effect, the situation which came about in our history precisely after 1929, when Bukharin was dropped from membership of the Politburo, is characteristic in the following sense: Theory became an apologist for any decisions which are made by the party leadership. And then it is no longer important to what extent theory is ahead of practice. This subservient role of theory is exactly what Bukharin spoke out against. That is, theory ought to give a certain forewarning. Right now we are attempting to return to such a model for mutual relations, and this is far from easy to do.

One more point. Bukharin has one very interesting idea. He says that the proletariat ought to govern the economy to the extent possible at any given moment and the rest should be left to the market. If the proletariat tries at some point to bite off more than it can chew, it will have to create an administrative-command system to compensate for what the market normally gives. Sooner or later the content of that system will become more wasteful and more unprofitable than the anarchy of market relations. Bukharin said that if we try to do this then the proletariat itself will sooner or later have to reject it. Otherwise it will be on the verge of crisis. So, in that light, it is virtually a forecast of genius. Now, when we say that we must return to Lenin in our understanding of socialism, Bukharin can help us in it with his ideas directed at conceiving socialism as a system of civilized cooperators.

[Interviewer] Now the following question. You would like to add something?

[(Bordyugov)] Yes. I would like to draw attention to one more point. Today, in the conditions of restructuring, we are getting down to analysis. There is a great deal of critical heat in interpretation of the start of the eighties and the mid-eighties, but unfortunately there are at times very few constructive ideas in this critical passion. Few people are paying attention to this yet. And Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin's works are strong precisely in the sense that, interpreting the new situation, the situation after the turn of events of 1929, and despite his being outside the political leadership, his works, for all the extolments—even with respect to Stalin, and this has to be mentioned—form an analysis that is strong in terms of its constructiveness. That is, he seeks some directions for further development of the economy, he seeks the levers which might, say, guarantee connection between town and country, and so on.

[Interviewer] When I read the article, I thought that obviously the authors had considerable stores of information and theory for the analysis which is given in the article. This, despite the fact that for many decades—let us put it that way—the figure of Bukharin was a figure of silence in our society. Now the situation has changed sharply. But where will it be possible to read all this, to have a look at all this?

[Kozlov] Well, first of all, collected works of Bukharin will be issued in the near future by Politizdat, which were prepared by our institute. There, in general, the commentaries are given in a new way. The introduction contains an attempt at an objective analysis of that figure. This is, so to speak, the main thing which has been done at the present stage. Moreover, I would like to stress that it seems to me that an attempt to fill in blank spots in history with portraits and biographies may, in general, lead us to a dead end. And a correct understanding of the figure of Bukharin obviously is only feasible by reviewing the concept of the history of the party as a whole.

If one is to speak of our article, we were not really well-armed with knowledge of the works of Bukharin when we began our endeavor. We had a different type of preparation. We had been engaged in study of the social and economic processes in the twenties and the early thirties, and we tried to apply to these processes the knowledge on Bukharin's position on diverse issues as given by the archives, which have opened up a bit of late. And that is probably the most sensible course. I have noticed in a number of works by Bukharin, which have appeared in recent times, that there is a summary of his position, but these positions correlate poorly as a rule with the real course of history itself, and the viewpoint of Bukharin changed according to the turns in policy and socioeconomic problems and that has to be understood. One thing has to be connected with another. Incidentally, this concerns not just Bukharin, but Zinovyev, Kamenev, Trotskiy, Stalin, and anyone else.

[Interviewer] That is, this means a correlation of (?the personality) and those real conditions in which that person lived and struggled?

[Kozlov] Otherwise you and I come up with a most unusual thing: Seeing as Bukharin is rehabilitated, this means he is rehabilitated—let's put it this way—not only as a citizen and in the party way, but all his ideas are unconditionally correct, too, and let us keep to those ideas now, and all will then proceed well.

If we take such a doctrinarian path in analyzing the legacy of Bukharin, we will most likely achieve little. And if you noticed, our viewpoint is that the position of Bukharin in 1925 proved largely to be—unwittingly, but nevertheless proved to be—the cause of the somewhat difficult events of the late twenties, when Bukharin seems to fight with his own self of yesterday in the person of Stalin, whom he had supported in his time.

[(Bordyugov)] I would like to add that the collected works of Bukharin, which Vladimir Aleksandrovich mentioned, include works of the later period too. In order to understand the later Bukharin, especially the works of 1933-34, it is very important to know the socioeconomic position too, the situation in the country. And one has to know the situation within the party. Without that, without knowledge of the position, without knowledge of the alignment of forces both in the Central Committee and within the party as a whole, it is practically impossible to read the later Bukharin. Or one can read him, but with a definite (?disadvantage).

[Kozlov] That is to say that finer analysis once again requires knowledge of events. And understanding Bukharin, or any other figure such as Zinoviyev, Kamenev, or Trotskiy, implies the most serious, painstaking homework. Only historians are capable of that just now. But nevertheless, a most unusual situation has arisen, which is most fertile for the development of science. An elaboration of the concept is taking place parallel to the development of mass awareness, parallel to a change in stereotypes in that awareness. At this junction, a new quality of historical reflection as a whole is being engendered, so it seems to me. Therefore, I personally do not aspire to immediately having the result of my work become a universal postulate. In general, we must each restrain ourselves from our desire to monopolize the ideas which arose as a result of the work.

Proposals on Lithuanian 'Economic Independence'

LD0209222388 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] As has been reported in the press, proposals for expanding the rights of the republic in the sphere of administration, planning, finance, and labor have been discussed by the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

The preparation of received proposals has now been completed and these have been submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The following issues have been raised in particular: With the objective of increasing the responsibility and commitment of the republic and increasing production, technical level, and quality of output, it has been proposed that all industrial enterprises and their corresponding scientific research institutes and design, technology, and other organizations which are on the territory of the republic should be transferred to the control of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

With the objective of strengthening and expanding the food production base and enhancing the role of the republican administrative organs in real terms for meeting the demands of the population for food products, it has been proposed that the republic's agro-industrial complex be transferred to the control of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and that it should be granted

the right to conduct an independent agricultural policy, to implement immediate and long-term planning administration, and to improve the economic and pricing mechanism. At the same time, it has been proposed that the system of delivering meat and dairy products into the all-union fund should be radically changed.

It has also been proposed that interrepublican organs such as Zapryba [Main Administration of the Ministry of Fishing Industry of the USSR for Western Regions], Baltic Railways, and others which are based in the neighboring republics should be abolished. Instead, corresponding organs should be set up in the republics.

In the sphere of capital construction, it has been proposed that the republic's Council of Ministers should be granted the right to independently solve issues concerning investment policies and, in particular, 5-year plan projects on the development of a branch of the national economy and social sphere while using all available sources of financing which have been worked out and confirmed by the republic's Council of Ministers.

In the sphere of people's education, according to the existing practice, books on teaching and methods of teaching and manuscripts of textbooks for national schools must be delivered to Goskomobrazovanye [State Committee for People's Education] of the USSR in a Russian translation for expert opinion. The teaching plans, curriculum, and examination questions are also confirmed in the same way for schools in which the language of instruction is Russian.

The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR proposed that some issues concerning foreign economic relations should be solved immediately.

All these proposals are considered the first step toward expanding Lithuania's economic independence. Results of the consideration by the USSR Council of Ministers on the submitted proposals will be published in the press.

Lithuanian CP Official on Perestroyka Group

LD0209221988 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The skeptics adopted a rather reserved point of view [on the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka] having been conditioned throughout the decades to eye all novelties with a great sense of mistrust. Others, however, [word indistinct] pointed out that the movement was a nationalistic organization totally disinterested in advancing the cause of perestroyka.

However, none of these wild speculations proved true, although opponents gloatingly like to remind you that an official manifesto of the movement has not yet been announced. Representatives of the movement say that this will be done very soon in the forthcoming conference due to take place in autumn. [passage omitted]

This is what Nikolay Mitkin, second secretary at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said in this connection last week:

The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party has received reports from some regions in Lithuania about the pressure put on Communists for their participation in the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka. This is a serious mistake and I would like to point out here that these are totally unauthorized actions. No such orders have ever been passed by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. [passage omitted] The Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka is a political fact and this should be taken into account. [passage omitted] The movement is barely a 3-month-old baby and still in a street demonstration stage, and naturally mistakes and unnecessary emotions appear here and there. [passage omitted]

If some people from the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka air their views and opinions in a nonstandard way, resorting to firm and even impudent devices, there is no need to push the panic button. We must learn to hear the views of people whose opinion seems to be different from ours, especially when they have true facts to back their views. [passage omitted]

I have been asked on many occasions whether the movement is an opposition party. No, it isn't. I see it as a democratic movement, expressing the people's constitutional rights to take part in governing the state. [passage omitted]

Vezirov Speaks at Journalists' Briefing

NC0309055988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 1 Sep 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] Newspapers report that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held a briefing for journalists during which Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke. He focused significant attention on the tasks of the mass media organs in relation to the decisions adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee during its recent plenum, and replied to the many questions put to him by those participating in the meeting.

Addresses Education Officials

NC0409102588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] The Baku City higher education aktivs held a meeting at the Drzezinsky Club on the eve of the new school year in which the leading officials of the popular education organs and educational institutions, scientists and scholars, teachers, and representatives of party,

soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, creative unions, and mass media organs participated. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Azerbaijan Construction Materials Minister Named
NC0409102188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 2 Sep 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] Comrade Arif Mansurov has been appointed minister of the Construction Materials Industry of the Azerbaijan SSR. The decree announcing this appointment by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has been published in the newspapers.

Azerbaijan Officials View Complaint Process
NC0309063088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 1 Sep 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has held a meeting to discuss the work of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs in dealing with letters and complaints conveyed to them by citizens, as derived from the recommendations of the 19th all-union party conference. Newspapers have carried detailed information on this matter under the headline: Attention Focused on the Letters and Appeals of Citizens.

The decision adopted by the bureau described as unsatisfactory the work of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee departments and the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs in realizing the 19th all-union party conference recommendations and the party decisions in connection with the requirement of careful attention to and the timely handling of letters and complaints of citizens. They were advised to take measures to eliminate deficiencies in handling the letters and verbal appeals of citizens and to strengthen control over the way in which citizens are received by establishments and administrations.

'Shortcomings' at RSFSR Transport Ministry
PM0209153288 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium has examined a number of questions connected with transferring the economy to full economic accountability. The draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Russian Federation for 1989, drawn up by the RSFSR Gosplan, was analyzed. In the course of the discussion, it was stressed that the plan targets should orient the work of labor collectives, sectors, and local soviets toward achieving the indicators envisaged in the 5-year plan. RSFSR ministries, departments, and the Gosplan are instructed to speed up the formulation of the fundamental national economic document for 1989.

In this connection, particular significance is attached to the formation of state orders. It is well known that the union government has approved a temporary, 2-year provision governing the procedure for forming state orders, their volume, and the range of products covered. How are the regulations on state orders to be applied in relation to the specific features of the RSFSR national economy? This was the subject of detailed discussion at an RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium session with the participation of leaders of central economic departments and ministries. (More detail of the discussion that took place will be given in an upcoming issue of the newspaper.)

There has recently been an increase in the number of letters and complaints to central organs and newspapers from enterprises of the Ministry of Motor Transport. In some cities there have been instances of passenger transport being disrupted by work stoppages of drivers at bus depots. It was noted at the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium session that these negative occurrences were possible due to serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of the collegium and apparatus of the Ministry of Motor Transport in transferring motor transport enterprises to the conditions of the new economic mechanism. Economic accountability is theoretical and formal in nature. Wage restructuring was subject to great distortions. As a result the wages of the management apparatus increased markedly, but the workers' and drivers' wages hardly changed at all. The serious lag in motor transport enterprises' social and living conditions is becoming increasingly acute.

The leadership and management apparatus of the Ministry of Motor Transport failed to grasp the complexity of the situation in good time and find the correct ways of resolving conflict situations, and in a number of places this led to a deterioration in transport services for the population and enterprises. The increasingly frequent difficulties in the work of motor transport enterprises were not analyzed in depth. Instead of comprehensively examining the accumulated causes of dissatisfaction, overcoming poor organization and abuses of overtime, eliminating distortions in wages, and improving everyday working conditions, the administration of associations and the ministry in many cases allowed themselves to be guided by self-seeking elements, and established additional payments with no legitimate grounds.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium imposed penalties on a number of leaders of the Ministry of Motor Transport for serious shortcomings in work. The ministry and collegium were warned of the impermissibility of sluggishness in resolving problems connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism in

motor transport. It is proposed to step up the activity of labor collective councils and increase their autonomy and responsibility in resolving economic questions and in the activity of motor transport enterprises. The attention of local soviet organs was drawn to the need for an attentive attitude to the needs of transport collectives and the creation of normal production, social, and living conditions.

18 Rural Rayons in Uzbekistan Abolished

LD0309061188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] In Uzbekistan, a decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on abolishing 18 rural rayons has been promulgated. This measure has been implemented in accordance with the policy adopted in the republic of cutting back the administrative and management apparatus. According to most calculations, more than 20,000 specialists in the national economy will transfer directly from offices to production as a result of this step. The amalgamation of a number of oblasts in the republic is expected in the very near future.

Scientific

Soviet-Afghan Space Mission Continues

LD0209202888 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad are continuing joint work in terrestrial orbit.

Their program for today provides for medico-biological and biotechnological experiments and geophysics studies.

As is usual practice, the visiting crew during their first days aboard the orbiting platform performs a considerable number of space medicine experiments.

Their principal objective is to appraise the cosmonauts' capacity for work and psychophysiological reactions at the initial phase of becoming adapted to weightlessness.

Cosmonauts' effective work in space depends to a significant extent, among other factors, on whether they sleep soundly and get adequate rest.

In an experiment conducted by Polyakov the quality of sleep was judged by electrophysiological indicators registered by dint of special equipment and by his answers to a questionnaire.

A similar experiment is to be performed by Afghan cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad.

The international crew have photographed spectrography images of north-eastern areas of Afghanistan under a program for geophysics research codenamed Shamshad. They have begun a series of biological experiments involving the Magnitogravistat and Svetoblok-G installations. The former is being used to study the development of flax seeds in zero gravity under the influence of an induced heterogeneous magnetic field, while the other to analyze the interaction of plants with soil bacteria.

Experiments are being continued in special constant-temperature cabinets to evaluate the dynamics of growth and development of animal and plant cell cultures in space flight.

During a television session between Kabul and the orbiting platform Mir today Afghan President Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, warmly greeted the international team, wishing them success with fulfilling their mission.

Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad are feeling well and in good health.

The flight of the Soviet-Afghan team is proceeding normally.

Photography Experiments Conducted

LD0209221088 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—TASS correspondent Valentin Ovcharov reports from the flight control center:

The scientific trophies of the Soviet-Afghan space mission are augmented with the each revolution of Mir station around the earth. Under the programme "Shamshad" the international crew will perform fifteen interesting nature exploration and medical experiments.

On the day when Soyuz TM-6 docked with the orbital complex, specialists from the flight control center gave an unusual map-scheme to Soviet and Afghan journalists. It shows the territory of Afghanistan and the flight trajectory of Mir station over it. Mir's flight path will take Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad over his homeland several times during the expedition. But he will not have enough time to admire it in full measure since every second of this time will be spent by him and his crew mates on space photography.

The crew obtains the basic volume of information during the remote-controlled probing of the earth, and the first set of the experiments is devoted exactly to this, with the aid of the Kate-140 large-size topographical camera which has long since proved its efficiency. With photography being carried out at a height of 350 kilometers, a square of the territory, which is 450x450 kilometers in size, is fitted into each of the photos. Objects measuring to 50 meters will be discernible on them. Cosmonauts also use portable photocameras.

Specialists of the friendly country pin great hopes on these pictures as mountain and hard-of-access places make up over 70 per cent of Afghan territory. The names of the experiments now conducted—"Relief", "Geology", "Glaciers", "Rivers and lakes", Oasis", "Vegetation", "Cartography", "Atlas" and "Review"—speak volumes.

The goal of the experiment "Relief", for instance, is to make photos which will help explore the engineering and geological conditions of the country for the future rational development of the territory, and also choose the most suitable places for building hydrotechnical structures, civil and industrial construction facilities. Specialists hold that the evaluation of the engineering and geological conditions as a complex system of interrelated nature components will allow the employment of mathematical modelling methods to project their joint development, determine the directions for a profitable and economically effective development of natural resources. The experiment "Geology" will help identify new ore-bearing zones and oil, gas and ore promising structures. Space photos will supply information on seismic, avalanche and mud-flow danger, will prompt the directions for research in this field.

The experiment "Oasis" aims at exploring large oases. Pictures taken from space will tell specialists about their soil cover, the spread of various farm crops, gardens, vineyards and the structure of irrigation systems. Space photography will be also instrumental in drafting schemes for the spread of basic types of pastures in the country, the photo maps of its territory and the future atlas of Afghanistan's natural resources, maps of the road network and populated localities, in putting virgin lands to agricultural use...

The importance of what the international crew does in orbit now is hard to be overestimated: The analysis showed that using space information, specialists can give a general appraisal of the natural and economic potential of a territory three to four times faster than using traditional methods. In so doing, the input is reduced 12 to 15 times.

The second set of the "Shamshad" experiment has relation to space medicine. The crew makes a comprehensive study of the cosmonaut's capacity for work at the initial stages of the adaptation to space flight conditions. A promising programme of research which has long been carried out at Soviet orbital complexes was further developed in the experiments "Statokinetics", "Potential", "Labyrinth", "Forecast", "Poll", and "Dream-K". It involves the study of the operational abilities of the participants in the visiting expedition, their physiological and psychological reactions to zero-gravity, the state of the analyzing systems of the organism that found itself in such unsual conditions.

Interestingly, the medical research is conducted with the aid of a set of equipment developed in Bulgaria according to the assignments agreed upon with Soviet specialists. They were left aboard Mir after the recent Soviet-Bulgarian visiting expedition. No wonder, therefore, that Bulgarian medical men can be seen at the flight control center now, helping Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad in their work. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are also involved in the medical programme. Telemetry that is obtained during these experiments is received not only in the flight control center now but also in the international center of the space research institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Stara-Zagor.

Najibullah Greets Crew

LD0209204388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] One Afghan and four Soviet cosmonauts have been at work in space for 3 days now. During one of their communication sessions they had a chat with Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich reports from the flight control center:

[Lazarevich] A television link-up is about to begin between the Mir orbital complex, the flight control center, and Kabul. With each passing second the complex is getting closer to the radio visibility zone; at the moment it is over Western Europe. On the screen here at the flight control center we can see Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee. He is holding a telephone receiver in his hand and waiting to talk with the international crew. And now the cosmonauts have appeared on the other screen. Here is the president of Afghanistan:

[Begin recording] [Najibullah in Pashto with superimposed Russian translation] I am very glad that I can hear you clearly. We are all very proud of the fact that you are in space. We wish you success in fulfilling the flight schedule. We all watched the launch of the ship, the docking process, and your transfer to the station. We are glad that you and the other cosmonauts are healthy and that the flight is proceeding normally. All Afghans would like to be in space and see our beautiful earth from there. You, of course, can see the snow-capped peaks of the Hindu Kush and the green forests of our country. The Afghans have a saying that a long journey tests a man, especially such a lengthy, dangerous, and complex one as you have embarked upon. We are proud of you and your cosmonaut comrades. The city of Kabul has been decorated in honor of your flight and photograhs of you have been posted in the city. I would like to inform you that I have met your and Comrade Dauran's families. Everyone is healthy and all is well at home. Your mothers are happy that their sons are fulfilling such a resonsible task. Your mothers asked me to pass on their best wishes: May you have a good voyage and return safely. This is the

wish of all your friends and the entire Afghan people. On behalf of the whole Afghan people and the revolutionary government, I would like to convey my greetings and best wishes to al the crew. Please convey warm greetings and ardent congratulations to Comrades Lyakhov, Polyakov, Titov, and Manarov on behalf of the Afghan people and the revolutionary authorities. We are preparing to give you a worthy and ceremonial welcome on Afghanistan's ancient and historic soil. Tell all your comrades that they are brothers and genuine friends of every Afghan.

[Lyakhov] We convey our most sincere greetings to Dr Najibullah and assure you that the Shamshad flight program will be fully carried out. The crew is in excellent health. We are ready to fulfill the entire program and return home to earth.

[Najibullah, in Russian] See you on earth! We shall be delighted. Thank you, Comrade Lyakhov.

[Lyakhov] Our thanks to you. See you on earth! See you in Kabul! [end recording]

Doctor on Condition of Cosmonauts

LD0209230088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The first working television communication session with the Soviet-Afghan crew working on the Mir station took place today:

[Correspondent P. Orlov] There is probably nobody more familiar with those who are work in space than their stand-ins and doctors. The Mir station now has its own doctor, Valeriy Polyakov, and he has a whole diagnostic center to help him, ranging from computers to a fish aquarium. One of the phenomena under study, for example, is travel sickness. Working efficiency and adaptation to weightlessness are also being monitored. In this first television report, the first word goes to the doctor:

[Polyakov] As the doctor, I have been given the opportunity to examine and assess the state of—let's call it the mental and physical working efficiency of the main crew. What's really surprising is their great creative initiative. For example, they overcame the adaptation effects long ago—they have been in orbit for 8 months and one can only hope that all future participants in prolonged expeditions get into shape, adapt to the atmosphere of prolonged weightlessness, and work as well as they have.

[Orlov] Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad is also happy with the results of the first medical experiments. He has been using the Bulgarian Pleven apparatus and produced very good results. The first thing he did was to report this to his stand-in. [passage omitted]

Cosmonauts Hold News Conference

LD0309151188 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Mountainous and difficult-of-access areas account for 70 per cent of the territory of Afghanistan. This was taken into account when remote probing of Afghan territory was included in a program of the present-day Soviet-Afghan space flight. This was reported by Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, Afghan cosmonaut-researcher, from on board the orbital complex during a press conference held today at the mission control centre. Soviet and foreign journalists present there spoke with the cosmonauts by TV channels.

Participants in the press conference saw on the screen the smiling faces of members of the international crew—Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Vladimir Lyakhov, Valeriy Polyakov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad. They spoke about their work in the Mir orbital complex where Lyakhov, Polyakov and their Afghan colleague have been staying for more than three days. Titov and Manarov have been working on board the research complex for over eight months. During the four days of their stay at the orbital station members of the visting expedition that started from the Soviet space-launch complex on August 29 have fulfilled already an extensive research program. The cosmonauts told journalists about the probing of the Afghan territory and about medico-biological experiments staged by them. Apart from it, they conducted geophysical studies and surveyed typical parts of the relief on Afghan territory. The crew members emphasized that their work was aimed at a peaceful development of Afghan economy.

The cosmonauts said that they had a strenuous day today. They have conducted many medical experiments and those connected with the study of physics of the earth's atmosphere.

Crew Conducts Final Experiments

LD0509054788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] The flight of the Soviet-Afghan international crew on board the Mir manned complex is nearing its conclusion. The cosmonauts will carry out final experiments today. The visiting expedition crew will carry out more medical research, then they will begin preparing the Soyuz TM-5 transport ship for undocking from the station.

We will recall that the planned time for the landing of the transport craft in which Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad will return to earth is 0615 Moscow time 6 September. Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and the research doctor Valeriy Polyakov will continue work in a near-earth orbit.

According to reports from orbit, the flight of the Soviet-Afghan cosmonauts is proceeding according to plan. All five are in good health and feel fine.

'Mir,' 'Soyuz-TM-5' Undock

LD0609031588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev report from the flight control center]

[Excerpt] Good morning, comrades, although for the cosmonauts and the specialists at the flight control center and its numerous visitors it is not so much morning as day or evening. It has been a night of intense work; 2 hours ago the Mir station and the Soyuz TM-5 spacecraft undocked. At the moment, these television pictures [as heard] are being repeated, and 30 minutes ago the Soyuz TM-5 spacecraft received the command to descend. The engines will start up in 20 minutes and it will be on its way to earth. [passage omitted]

'Deviations' Discovered in 'Soyuz' Parameters

LD0609062788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Excerpts] News from orbit: The flight control center is on the line. At the microphone is our correspondent, Vladimir Bezyayev.

[Bezyayev] There is just one bit of news: In the course of the final preparations for landing, the experts discovered a number of deviations from the calculated parameters in the work of a number of systems, and decided not to risk it but to postpone the landing until tomorrow. They will be able to investigate during the day that this gives them. Now the ballistics experts are working out a new landing time, and the specialists are investigating the situation. [passage omitted]

Well, there, Vladimir Lyakhov is laughing. The experts believe everything will be all right. All we can add again is that the ballistics experts will, in a few hours, give a precise date and site for the landing. That is all the news from flight control center for today. All the best.

'Soyuz TM-5' To Land 7 September

LD0609090088 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the mission control center:

The Soviet-Afghan crew has wound up joint work aboard the research complex Mir. The Soyuz TM-5 spaceship with cosmonauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, a citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan, was undocked from the orbital complex at 2:55 Moscow time today. Early during the realization of the landing programme, the latter automatically shut off ahead of time.

It was decided to put off the landing of the Soyuz TM-5 spacecraft until September 7.

The Soyuz TM-5 manned spaceship is in a standard oriented flight.

Cosmonauts Lyakhov and Mohmand are feeling well.

'Cosmos-1900' Not 'Radiation Hazard'

LD0309131288 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 2 Sep 88

[From the "Science and Engineering" program]

[Text] There have been some alarm-causing reports in the Western media about a Soviet nuclear-powered earth satellite. According to these reports, the satellite Cosmos-1900, launched last December for oceanological studies, is about to fall, this month or next month. The Deutche Welle broadcasting station in West Germany claims for example that the nuclear fuel of the satellite may well on reentry into the earth's atmosphere scatter over Europe. Asked whether there was really a danger of radioactive contamination through the reentry of Cosmos-1900, Yevgeniy Kulov, an engineer with the Soviet State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, said this:

[Kulov—read by announcer] We expect no disaster to occur. Soviet specialists expect the attitude-controlled flight of Cosmos-1900 to end this month or next month with a gradual reduction of its altitude to 120km. There are two options available to ensure radiation safety during its descent. One relies on the automatic system in the spacecraft for ejecting the nuclear power plant in it, and propelling it to an altitude of 800 km for the radioactive materials to decay there. This system is actuated if the satellite's attitude-control system fails, or if the instrument compartment is depressurized, or if the power supply malfunctions. There is also a second possibility. If that ejection system fails another system separates the nuclear reactor component units when the satellite reenters the atmosphere. This happens if the temperature of the satellite body rises as a result of its flight through the upper atmosphere at an altitude of 115-120km. And calculations show that if the active zone of the reactor burns up and disintegrates in the dense layers of the atmosphere this should not cause any substantial increase of the background radiation on the earth's surface. There is therefore no reason to regard the Cosmos-1900 situation at present as a radiation hazard.

Asked to say whether this was an emergency or not Yevgeniy Kulov replied: an emergency for the satellite, yes; for the reactor, no.

Space Experiment Examines Earth's Crust
LD0209231288 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow-Frunze September 2 TASS—The study of the structure of the earth's crust and detection of high-seismicity zones were the main aims of the international space experiment called "Tian-Shan-Intercosmos-88". It was conducted uner the programme Intercosmos between August 11 and this day.

Investigations were conducted over the territory of testing grounds in the Tajik and Kirghiz union republics and were a component part of the international comprehensive purpose-oriented project "study of geological structures by remote-control methods".

"The Tien Shan mountains are a relatively young mountain system where major and small earthquakes constantly occur," Vladimir Trifonov, one of the masterminds of the experiment and head of the laboratory of neotectonics and space geology of the geological institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, said in an interview with TASS. "That is why they are a wonderful natural laboratory to study underground tremors. We chose the most populated areas—Faizabad forecasting ground in Tajikistan and Toktogul and Frunze grounds in Kirchizia—as objects of investigations."

"Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov made for us a series of snapshots from the Mir orbital complex," Vladimir Trifonov went on to say. Specialists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia supplied with instruments, maps and charts provided by their counterparts from the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, conducted geophysical, radio and magnetometric and other explorations. They described rapidly shifting fissures in the earth's crust and detected dangerous sections threatening with downfalls, mud streams and landslides.

The results of explorations will be handed over to the main coordinator—the Geological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences—to compile a group monograph which will be a contribution to controlling natural calamities.

Ocean Development Organization Starts Work
LD0509193988 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The primary task of a new joint international organisation Interoceanmetal is to find a section on the sea bed for further prospecting and industrial development of ferromanganese concretions.

The proposal to set up Interoceanmetal was put forward by the Soviet side at a regular meeting of the CMEA executive committee in 1983.

The organisation, uniting Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Poland, Cuba, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, is based in Szczecin, Poland.

Each of the participants will contribute an equal share to the organisation's budget, except Vietnam and Cuba which are participating on favourable terms.

Interoceanmetal will also engage in the industrial development of concretions, including the provision of production and technological facilities for their extraction and metallurgical processing.

A TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Ministry of Geology that first prospecting had already started in the Clarion-Clipperton region in the Pacific.

Cooperation within Interoceanmetal will give socialist countries access to the resources lying on the sea bed of the international region of the world ocean and will enable them to make their mineral and raw material base richer in vital metals such as nickel, cobalt, copper and manganese.